

**THE NEW SURVEY OF  
LONDON LIFE AND LABOUR**

# **THE NEW SURVEY OF LONDON LIFE & LABOUR**

**VOLUME VI**

**SURVEY OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS**

**(2) THE WESTERN AREA**

**(TEXT)**

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# THE NEW SURVEY OF LONDON LIFE AND LABOUR

*Director:* SIR HUBERT LLEWELLYN SMITH, G.C.B.

*Secretary:* J. W. VERDIER.

*Assistant Secretary:* M. I. MICHAELS.

*Office:* London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.

## CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

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SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, PROFESSOR J. HILTON,  
K.C.B. C.B.

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C.B. PROFESSOR L. C. ROB-

J. GEE (*vice* G. H. GATER, BINS

C.M.G.) S. K. RUCK

The New Survey of London Life and Labour was undertaken in 1928 by the London School of Economics and Political Science, which besides utilising for the purpose part of the income from an endowment given to the School by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation Memorial and part of the Ratan Tata Research Fund, has received direct gifts for the furtherance of the Survey from the City Parochial Charities Trustees, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, the Noel Buxton Trustees, the Halley Stewart Trustees, and the Fishmongers', Drapers' and Clothworkers' Companies. To these donors the Director and Consultative Committee desire to express their cordial thanks.

They also desire to record their keen appreciation of the assistance rendered in the compilation of the present volume by many public bodies, voluntary societies, and private persons without whose help the task of carrying through the Social Survey would have been impossible.

Their gratitude is due in the first place to the London County Council for giving them access to the Divisional Officers of their Education Service and to the School Attendance Officers, through whom the major part of the data were obtained both for the Street Survey and the House Sample Inquiry. All these officers have been unflinching helpful, and have readily responded to the many demands made upon their time and experience.

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In the Prefatory Note to Volume III the Director expressed his warm gratitude to the present and past members of the Survey Staff "for their loyal and unremitting energy and devotion in carrying through the very laborious work of the Social Survey." He wishes now to repeat with fresh emphasis the acknowledgements then made, which are at least equally due to the valuable services of the Staff in connection with the present Volume and its companion set of Maps. In addition to the personal references in the former prefatory note, he desires to pay a cordial tribute of thanks to the services of Mr. J. W. Verdier, the present Secretary, on whom a large share of responsibility has fallen for the preparation of these two Volumes.



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## INTRODUCTION

### I

THE present volume together with its companion volume of maps continues and completes the survey of social conditions in London which was begun in Volumes III and IV. The former contained a detailed description of the methods employed for the purpose of classifying the population of London by social and economic grades, and for displaying the local distribution of these grades street by street by means of coloured maps. It also gave an elaborate explanation of the basis and methods of the House Sample Inquiry which sought not only to ascertain the volume, proportion and causes of working-class poverty, but also to throw light on such closely related questions as the constitution and earning power of working-class families and the mode in which they are housed.

It is not necessary to repeat this explanation of methods in the present volume, which applies precisely the same procedure to the Western Survey Area, and summarises the results for London as a whole.

Besides the two main investigations into the incidence of poverty, this volume contains in Part III a second series of studies of special subjects each of which has a close bearing on the problem of London poverty. These studies continue the series included in Volume III and relate like them to the whole of London. Finally, Part IV consists of brief descriptive and statistical summaries of the information available as to local conditions prevailing in each borough in the Western Survey Area, thus completing the series of borough summaries begun in the third volume.

The Western Survey Area is larger and more populous than the Eastern sector. It includes 14,000 streets with 3,204,000 inhabitants, of whom just under three millions are living in private families, and it embraces all parts of the County of London not included in the former volume, together with the three extra-metropolitan boroughs of Hornsey, Willesden and Acton. The whole of this vast area has been surveyed with the exception of the City, which with its mere handful of residents, and its great day population of non-residents, does not lend itself to the present methods of investigation.

In view of the frequent use of the terms "poor," "poverty" and "poverty line" throughout the present volume it seems necessary to recall at the outset the technical sense in which these terms are used, and the emphatic disclaimer already made in the third volume of any idea that the standards by which "poverty" is measured are intended to represent the current standards of the present day. "It cannot be too clearly emphasised that there has been no attempt to fix a level of present-day 'poverty' according to present-day ideas. The sole aim has been to apply Charles Booth's standard to present economic conditions."<sup>1</sup>

During the past forty years concurrently with the rise in the standard of life, there has been a change in the prevailing view as to what constitute the minimum necessities of a civilised existence. Since, however, one of the main objects of the New Survey has been to obtain a valid comparison between present and past, it has been essential to keep the same standards throughout, irrespective of any changes in the interval except the change in the purchasing power of money.

It is also to be remembered that most of the materials for the new survey of poverty and well-being in London were obtained in 1929-30, and that the estimates of the level of poverty refer to conditions prevailing at that date, viz. forty years after Charles Booth's first survey

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, p. 11.

was made. They do not and are not intended to take into account subsequent changes resulting from the exceptional depression in which the world has been plunged during the last two or three years.

## II

The broad effect of the New Survey is to show that in 1929 the proportion of the London population who were below the poverty line, in the sense of the term referred to above, was somewhere between a third and a quarter of the proportion recorded by Charles Booth forty years earlier. In this conclusion both the Street Survey and the House Sample Inquiry agree, though, for reasons discussed below, the latter method yields a rather lower percentage of poverty than the former, and consequently makes the reduction of poverty since Charles Booth's day appear slightly greater.

That two independent estimates of the proportionate reduction of London "poverty" in the forty years 1889-1929, viz. by 69 per cent. (Street Survey) and 71 per cent. (House Sample), should differ so slightly is very remarkable considering the roughness of the data.

Both inquiries, moreover, agree in finding that the reduction of poverty has been somewhat greater in the Western Area than in the East.

## III

The final result of the Street Survey, after all adjustments are made, is to estimate that in 1929 there were 490,000 persons in the London Survey Area living below the poverty line. As the population of the area is 5,653,000, this number represents rather more than 8·7 per cent. Of the total persons in poverty about 260,000 (or 10·6 per cent. of population) were in the Eastern Survey Area and 230,000 (or 7·2 per cent. of population) in the Western sector.

Of the above 490,000 persons about 436,000 were living in private families and the remainder in some form of institution, hostel or hospital. If we confine our-

selves entirely to persons living in private families, the percentage living in poverty is reduced to 8.1.

If, lastly, we only include members of families with children of school age (whose condition was systematically investigated both by Charles Booth and the New Survey) the percentage in poverty is found to be somewhat higher, viz. 9.5. It is this last figure, viz. 9.5 per cent., which should be compared with Charles Booth's percentage of 30.7 for the whole County of London. It may be remarked in passing that it would make no difference if the comparison were limited to the identical area covered by Charles Booth (i.e. exclusive of the external boroughs in the New Survey Area) since the percentages of poverty in the London Survey Area and in the County of London were found to be practically the same.

It will be recalled that in Volume III it was shown that in 1929 the poverty level in the Eastern Area was rather more than one-third as high as in 1889. The investigation of the Western Survey Area recorded in the following chapters shows that in the same period the proportion of poverty in that area has shrunk even more rapidly, and in 1889 was hardly more than one-quarter of its former amount.

The relations between the poverty conditions of 1889 and 1929 may be otherwise expressed by saying that if the conditions of life and labour found by Charles Booth in the London of 1889 had continued to prevail, the total number of persons in poverty in the Survey Area in 1929 would have been upwards of a million and a half instead of less than half a million.

#### IV

It is very important to note that while the sum total of poverty has so greatly diminished, it has also become to a marked extent less congested and more dispersed.

Thus the population of "blue" streets (i.e. streets in which the majority of the population are living below the poverty line) has declined very much more rapidly than

the total number living in poverty. Charles Booth found three-quarters of a million persons living in blue or black streets, whereas the total number so living in 1929 was less than a hundred thousand.

The ratio borne by the population of blue streets to the total population living in poverty may be regarded as a rough index of the degree to which poverty is locally concentrated. Since Charles Booth's day this index has fallen from nearly three-fifths to less than one-fifth. In the Western Area the degree of concentration of poverty is on the whole a good deal less than in the East, but there are exceptional areas of high concentration which are almost invariably associated with high rates of poverty (e.g. in Finsbury and North Kensington).

It also appears that well-being is generally more highly localised than poverty, and more so in the richer than in the poorer districts.

The stress laid in Chapter VII on the local concentration or dispersion of poverty has its justification in the fact that congested patches of poverty very frequently tend to degradation and foster the slum habit of life, and that, as emphasised in Volume III, those evils are often intensified and perpetuated by inter-breeding, especially in areas where free circulation is impeded by physical obstacles such as railways, canals or gasworks. Congestion has therefore a very important bearing on various aspects of London poverty dealt with in later chapters, including overcrowding, slum clearance and re-housing, as well as the problem of mental deficiency.

## V

While the method by which the House Sample Inquiry approaches the question of poverty was somewhat different from that employed either by Charles Booth or by the Street Survey, the actual standards of minimum subsistence used in the evaluation of the results were, it is believed, practically equivalent in all three inquiries. The method followed in the House Sample was to compare the family income with the cost of supplying mini-

imum needs, both in the week of investigation and in a week of full employment. In each case those whose minimum needs could not be met out of the week's income were classified as being below the poverty line. The results thus arrived at require various qualifications before they can be compared with the results of the Street Survey or of Charles Booth's inquiry, because of a number of differences in the bases of calculation, e.g. the limitation of the Sample Inquiry to working-class families, the fact that the Street Survey was primarily based on the study of families with school children, and finally the assumptions in the House Sample Inquiry that each week stands by itself and that all family income is pooled.<sup>1</sup> Some, but not all, of these differences can be eliminated by appropriate adjustments.

The best way, therefore, to compare the results arrived at by these different methods is to take as the basis of comparison the conditions prevailing in those sections of the London population which are common to both inquiries, viz. members of working-class families which include children of school age.

Over the whole Survey Area the percentage of these persons in poverty at the time of investigation was 11·6 according to the Street Survey and 10·7 according to the House Sample Inquiry. The difference between these two estimates (which represents the net effect on balance of the various factors referred to above) is only one-twelfth part, a fraction which is not of much importance so far as the whole Survey Area is concerned. Inasmuch, however, as two of the most important of these factors, viz. the imperfect pooling of incomes and the carry-over of resources from week to week, operate in opposite directions, and their relative influence varies greatly according to the social grade of the families concerned, it is only to be expected that the results of the two inquiries in some of the smaller areas will show wider divergencies than the average results for the whole

<sup>1</sup> The effect of these differences on comparisons is discussed in detail in Chapter VIII.



of London. That this is the case may be seen by inspection of the tables for particular boroughs.

## VI

According to the House Sample Inquiry the percentage of persons living in working-class families in London who were below the poverty line in 1929-30 was 9.1 in the week of investigation and 4.6 in a week when all the earners of the family were fully employed. The wide difference here shown between the poverty level in any given week and in a week of full employment—a difference which holds good not only for the London Area as a whole but for each of its component parts—is very striking and significant.

No doubt, as pointed out in Volume III, there is "something fictitious in assuming full-time earnings for all the workers,"<sup>1</sup> but the comparison is none the less of great interest, if only as illustrating the preponderating extent to which present-day poverty is due to under-employment, as contrasted with under-payment.

The evidence available (including that of the two provincial inquiries of 1913 and 1924<sup>2</sup>) goes to show that the ratio between the poverty rate in a given week and the rate in a week of full employment has greatly increased in recent years. This is but another way of saying that want of employment has become a much more important cause of poverty than insufficient wages.

Moreover, the fact that poverty in a week of full employment is so much lower than in any selected week also "emphasises the temporary nature of an appreciable part of the poverty observed in the week of inquiry,"<sup>3</sup> and thus furnishes a useful corrective of exaggerated impressions derived from a comparison of the income and needs of an isolated week.

## VII

In the Western Area old age appears as the cause of a greater proportion of poverty than in the East, viz.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, p. 68. <sup>2</sup> See *Has Poverty Diminished?* p. 21. <sup>3</sup> Vol. III, p. 7.

10 as compared with 7 per cent.<sup>1</sup> For the rest the analysis of apparent causes of poverty shows very little difference between East and West. In both areas insufficient employment was responsible for nearly half the total cases, while the inadequacy of wages for the number of mouths to be fed accounted for just under one-fifth. The remaining quarter were due to absence of a male earner through death, illness or incapacity. In a week of full employment the relative importance of these various causes was naturally very different. Insufficient employment sinks from the top to the bottom of the list, with the automatic result of raising the percentages due to the other causes.

In many other respects there was a notable difference between the figures for the week of investigation and a week of full employment. Thus at full-time earnings only 20 per cent. of persons in poverty were earners and 20 per cent. were over 65 years of age. In the week of investigation the percentage of earners rose to 28, and that of old persons fell to 11. The relative incidence of poverty on large and small families is illustrated by the fact that families with four or more dependent children which only formed one-twentieth of all families, accounted for one-seventh of families in poverty. The group with no dependent children also showed a relatively high percentage of poverty owing to the inclusion of a large number of old men and women living alone.

It is of interest to note that in the Western Area the proportion of earners in working-class families is somewhat higher than in the East, viz. 458 per 1,000 persons as compared with 443. The difference is mainly attributable to the greater number of dependent children in working-class families in the East.

### VIII

On the whole the analysis of wages in the Western Area yields results which are described as "singularly close to those for the East." In each area more than

<sup>1</sup> In the week of investigation.

half the workmen between the ages of 20 and 65 received more than 61s. a week. More than a tenth received more than £4 a week. It is not, of course, to be expected that rates of wages for the same class of worker should be materially different in different parts of London, since, for organised trades at least, the current rates tend to be uniform over a field at least as wide as the Survey Area. Nevertheless the average wage-level might still vary according to locality, owing to the different local distribution of industries. The House Sample Inquiry appears however to show that as between East and West no appreciable difference of wage-level exists.

The information obtained as to working-class incomes indicates that for all working-class families in the whole of the London Area, the margin of income above minimum needs averaged on balance about 34s. 6d. in a week of full-time employment and about 31s. in the week of investigation. It is also estimated that two-thirds of working-class families had a margin of 19s. and more above minimum needs as defined by Charles Booth. This is a striking illustration of the material advance since the time of the Booth Survey, when two-thirds included the whole of the population above the poverty line.

It further appears that in 1929 about 60 per cent. of working-class income in London was required for bare necessities and 40 per cent. was available for other purposes. This is on the assumption that the whole of the income of the family has been pooled, i.e. that "the earnings of all its members have been available for meeting the joint minimum needs."<sup>1</sup>

## IX

The question of the relation of rent and overcrowding to poverty was touched on in Volume III.<sup>2</sup> New light is thrown on one aspect of this question by an analysis of the cases included in the House Sample, in which a

<sup>1</sup> p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III, p. 17.

family has been sunk below the poverty line by reason of excessive expenditure on rent, either through paying too high a rent per room, or through occupying more rooms than the minimum necessary according to the standards applicable to a family of that composition. The result is to show that the proportion of poverty that can be directly attributed to high rent is comparatively small, though somewhat larger in the West than in the East.

By this is meant that a family below the poverty line would seldom be raised above that line by reducing its expenditure on rent to the standard. Doubtless there would be many additional cases in which such a reduction of rent would diminish the intensity of poverty by narrowing the gap between needs and means.

Conversely it is shown that the proportion of families who are only just kept above the poverty line by "pinching" in house accommodation is scarcely more than one in two hundred.

The above analysis suggests that the position of the poverty line would not be altered appreciably if "minimum" requirements were interpreted to include house-room as well as food, clothing and other necessities. This does not, of course, touch the deeper question how far the deprivation of air, space, privacy and health which results from inadequate housing is to be regarded as in itself a form of poverty. We here reach a point at which the measurement of poverty by comparing needs and purchasing power ceases to be valid under present-day conditions of housing shortage. There are in London a large number of families whose purchasing power, according to any test, would place them far above the poverty line, but who cannot use their surplus purchasing power to satisfy their minimum needs for decent and healthy housing, because there is no suitable accommodation to which they can have access. Thus the problem of housing is seen to have a very direct and intimate relation with the problem of poverty.

## X

Certain aspects of London working-class housing were dealt with in Volume III, particularly rentals, house accommodation and overcrowding in the Eastern Sector. An analysis based on Census material was also given of the local distribution of overcrowding in 1931 throughout the whole of London.

In the present volume the House Sample statistics of rentals, house accommodation and overcrowding are completed by figures for the Western Sector and for the whole Survey Area. In addition, the promise made in the former volume to give the results of the "detailed examination of the London Housing Problem in its bearings on general social conditions" is fulfilled by Chapter IX.

The House Sample shows that in the Western Sector the average rent of working-class tenements is slightly higher than in the East, and the proportions of different types of accommodation are very different. Divided houses and flats are twice as prevalent (45 per cent. compared with 23), while the separate cottage is only half as common (16 per cent. compared with 32).

On the whole the proportion of one- and two-roomed tenements is higher, and of 4 or more roomed tenements lower in the West than in the East. Rents vary widely, but the average for the Western Sector is 12.4s. per tenement, or 4.6s. per room compared with 11.2s. and 3.5s. in the East. Rent absorbs about 16 per cent. of working-class income in the Western Sector, compared with 14 per cent. in the East.

The average working-class family in the West is slightly smaller than in the East, so that in spite of the smaller average number of rooms per tenement the number of persons per room is almost exactly the same in the two sectors (viz. 1.15 and 1.16 respectively). The lowest averages in the Western Area are shown by South Lambeth and Hornsey (0.93 and 0.95), the highest by Finsbury (1.48), followed by St. Marylebone (1.37).

A variety of other tests of overcrowding have been applied, under all of which Finsbury appears as the most congested borough in the Western Sector.

In London as a whole the two adjacent boroughs of Shoreditch and Finsbury tie for the first place in overcrowding.

It must be borne in mind that the House Sample deals solely with working-class families. In a borough like Kensington, where great wealth and poverty exist side by side, the test of overcrowding applied to the whole population according to Census methods will yield widely different results from that of the House Sample. For example, the average number of persons per room in Kensington according to the Census was 0.76, whereas for the working-class population it was 1.3.<sup>1</sup>

## XI

"The Housing problem in London may be considered under the two aspects of quality and quantity."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, housing policy must have the double object of improving and expanding the supply of working-class dwellings. The need of expansion is proved by the persistence of overcrowding, which arises from the large discrepancy between the number of working-class families in London and the volume of housing accommodation which is at once accessible to them and suitable to their needs.

In 1931 the number of families in London exceeded the number of structurally separate dwellings by 441,000. Not every family, of course, needs a separate dwelling, but on any reasonable assumption as to needs the deficiency remains far too great, especially since a large number of existing dwellings are not available for working-class occupation, or are unsuited to it by reason of size, situation or character. It is found that practically

<sup>1</sup> The Census figures apply to 1931 and the House Sample to 1929-30, but the slight difference of date is of no practical moment.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter IX, p. 155.

the whole numerical deficiency is in small dwellings of four rooms and under.

A significant index of the growing shortage is the decreasing percentage of vacant houses, which fell from 6.6 in 1911 to 2.4 in 1931, while the extreme scarcity of accommodation in the poorer areas is shown by the fact that in six of the poorest boroughs less than one per cent. of dwellings were vacant at the time of the 1931 Census compared with  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in four of the wealthiest.

In the endeavour to meet this shortage an annual average of just over 30,000 new dwellings have been erected in Greater London since the War, of which, however, less than a sixth are within the County area. After deducting losses through demolition and conversion to industrial uses this gives a net annual addition of about 20,000 dwellings. Two-thirds of the new dwellings were provided by private agencies, and comparatively few of these are occupied by working-class tenants, though they doubtless help to ease the situation by releasing other house accommodation for work-people. The remaining third of the dwellings were provided by Municipal Authorities or Public Utility Societies, and were expressly designed for working-class families. They may be roughly divided into block dwellings, mostly in the central districts, and cottage estates near or even beyond the county boundary.

Descriptions and illustrations are given in Chapter IX of seven types of London working-class dwellings, ranging from a two-roomed cottage of obsolete type to examples of post-war London County Council cottages and block dwellings which represent the most systematic recent effort to overtake the shortage.

## XII

A sample analysis made for the purpose of the Survey shows that the L.C.C. cottage estates on the outskirts of London draw their tenants from a higher economic grade than the block dwellings in the more central areas,

the "median" wage of the principal earner being 75s. for entrants into cottage estates and only 60s. 6d. for entrants into block dwellings.

Thus, while the block dwellings make direct provision for the average working-class family, the cottage estates are mainly occupied by the *élite* of working-class families. Nevertheless, they perform an essential service by providing for the needs of those who, while "able to afford better homes at a distance from the centre, had previously been compelled by the shortage to live under conditions of serious congestion." Moreover, the dwellings vacated by their tenants help to relieve the general shortage.

### XIII

It is interesting to recall Octavia Hill's severe criticisms of block dwellings in the chapter which she contributed to Charles Booth's original survey,<sup>1</sup> and to inquire how far the experience of forty years has confirmed or disproved her views. She has been clearly proved mistaken in believing that there is no economy in this form of housing, and modern improvements have done much to rescue the better block dwellings from the charge of being ugly, dull or uninteresting. On the other hand, the restriction of individual freedom in such matters as hobbies remains an inevitable drawback, and the danger of contamination by a few disorderly tenants, though reduced where there is careful management, has not been entirely overcome. Some of the old-fashioned blocks managed on purely commercial lines still exhibit the old evils and abuses of forty years ago.

Perhaps the greatest change which has taken place in the situation since Octavia Hill wrote is that the building of cottages in inner London has become economically impossible, so that the choice of the worker who cannot move to the outskirts is no longer between blocks and cottages, but between a flat in a block and a share of a "tenement" house.

<sup>1</sup> Booth, Series I, Vol. 3, p. 29.



The problem of the undivided "tenement" house has, in fact, become one of the two dominant problems of London housing to-day, the other being the re-housing of the slum population. The cardinal defects of the slum tenement—dirt, dilapidation, vermin and insanitary conditions—leap to the eye and strike the public conscience. But while the intenser forms of these evils are gradually abating under the pressure of public health administration and changing habits, the great increase of tenement houses in working-class occupation has accentuated the gravity of their characteristic defect, viz. that many of them are unsuitable for the families by which they are occupied. Rooms intended for one purpose have to be used for another; cooking has to be done over a bedroom grate, basements are occupied, whether legally or illegally, both for living and sleeping, sanitary accommodation is shared by several families. In many cases these evils could be minimised by "re-conditioning," but it has been difficult to compel owners to undertake costly alterations so long as rent is controlled, or to induce local authorities in existing financial conditions to use their powers of contributing to the expense. This problem still awaits solution.

#### XIV

At the moment public attention is concentrated on schemes for the clearing and reconstruction of slum areas on a comprehensive plan. How slow has been the progress made hitherto is shown by the fact that slum clearance schemes, pre-war and post-war completed and in progress, throughout the County of London only cover some 280 acres, with a former population of 98,600 persons. The fact that the average density of the areas cleared before the War was 466 persons to the acre, and that of areas included in post-war schemes was 292, suggests that the very most congested areas may have been dealt with, but it is clear that much remains to be done.

Inquiry shows that a large number of existing slum

houses are in such a dilapidated and verminous condition that they are incapable of repair and ought to be pulled down. The greater the scale of operations, however, the more acute will be the problem of re-housing. It is true that sufficient house accommodation has to be provided for the displaced population, either on the site or elsewhere, but this does not mean that the identical families are in fact re-housed, though they nearly always have the offer. Rent and other considerations often stand in the way, and usually only a minority of the occupants of block dwellings are drawn from the former population of the demolished slum. Those who are dispersed and not re-absorbed carry with them the slum habit, and lower the standard of life in the districts into which they overflow. Fortunately, however, the evils incident to dispersion are much more limited and transitory than those caused by the persistence of large congested areas of poverty and degradation. Thus there is a net gain on balance.

The policy of reconditioning slum houses reduces but does not entirely avoid the difficulty of re-housing. Reconditioning, though sometimes unfairly regarded as a makeshift device which may stand in the light of more drastic measures, is in reality an essential supplement to slum clearance. In view of the great proportion of working-class families now living in tenement houses which have never been constructionally adapted to serve as multiple dwellings, it would seem that there must be a large number of cases in which some form of reconditioning is the proper remedy.

Rightly considered, the three methods, viz. new building, slum clearance, and reconditioning, are not mutually exclusive alternatives, but three facets of any coherent housing policy. The relative possibilities of these three methods in any particular case will often depend on the nature of the provision made for management. This, as was clearly indicated forty years ago, is the real crux of the housing question, though it is still often belittled or ignored. "The master key to the problem

is firm, intelligent and sympathetic management of house property. Where this condition is fulfilled, much can be accomplished: where it is neglected there is little hope of real advance." <sup>1</sup>

## XV

The inclusion in a volume dealing with poverty of chapters on the Migration of Labour and on the Jewish Community in East London is mainly attributable to historical causes. At the time when Charles Booth began his Survey the influx both of country folk from the rural districts and of Jews from Eastern Europe were popularly believed to be major causes of London poverty. No doubt both these phenomena were more important factors in London life and labour than is the case at the present time, but the nature of their influence was widely misunderstood.

To quote from the chapter on the influx of population contributed to the Booth Survey by the present writer in 1888, the influx from the country "is vaguely believed by many to be the principal cause of the poverty and overcrowding of many parts of the East End, and the unfortunate in-comers who have migrated to the great centre in search of work and have found none, are popularly supposed to swell the ranks of the unemployed and to make no inconsiderable part of the floating mass of loafers and casuals." <sup>2</sup> The result of a serious statistical investigation was to present a picture of the economic character and effects of the influx, differing *in toto* from that which had previously held the field. The conclusion was thus summarised: "The countrymen drawn in are mainly the cream of the youth of the villages travelling not so often vaguely in search of work, as definitely to seek a known economic advantage. So far from finding their position in London hopeless as is often supposed, they usually get the pick of its posts, recruiting especially outdoor trades . . . and in general

<sup>1</sup> See p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Influx of Population* (H. Llewellyn Smith): Booth, Series I, Vol. 3, p. 59.  
L.L.L. C

all employments requiring special steadiness and imposing special responsibility. The country immigrants do not to any considerable extent recruit the town unemployed."<sup>1</sup>

"The deterioration of town labour under the influence of town life"<sup>2</sup> was stressed as an important cause of the immigration from the country, which was necessary to maintain the vitality of the great urban community, and a prediction was hazarded that the development of sanitary science and public health administration in London would tend to weaken the force of the influx. "Every change that makes London labour more competent to form a self-sufficing community for the performance of work essential to the life of a great city, must lessen the differential advantage which the countryman at present enjoys."<sup>3</sup>

In accordance with the general plan of the New Survey it was necessary to examine afresh the whole situation as regards migration between London and the provinces in order to ascertain what changes have taken place in the past forty years. The results are shown in Chapter X, from which it appears that between 1881 and 1921 the influx into the County of London, which now is only the core of a much larger urban area, steadily diminished in volume and changed in character. The percentage of the population of the County of London born in other parts of the country was 34 in 1881, 29 in 1901, 25 in 1921. In the decade 1921 to 1931 there was a slight reverse movement from 25 to 26 per cent.—an increase undoubtedly connected with the general increase of unemployment which has affected the London area much less than the country generally, and has consequently set up a new current of immigration.

The local distribution of the immigrants within the County Area does not differ widely from that of 1881. As then, the poorest and most congested boroughs of the inner ring have the highest proportion of Londoners.

<sup>1</sup> Booth, Series I, Vol. 3, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

That there is still some differential advantage on the side of the provincial-born men is suggested by the fact that on the average their earnings were found by the House Sample to be slightly higher than those of Londoners in spite of their higher age distribution,<sup>1</sup> and also by the continued preponderance of Londoners in the needier strata of the community who apply for charitable assistance,<sup>2</sup> as well as in the parts of London where the rate of poverty is highest. But on the whole the impression left by the present inquiry is that the social and economic importance of immigration into the County of London from the provinces in relation to London poverty has very greatly diminished. The dominant feature of London migration is no longer the absorption of country immigrants and their competition with the London born, but the centrifugal movement of industry and population from the congested central areas to the outskirts.

## XVI

While in 1881 the immigrants were twice as numerous as the emigrants, the stream to the centre is now inferior to the outward current. That the latter is in the main a short-distance movement is clear from the fact that it is estimated that three-quarters of the Londoners now living outside London reside in the four adjacent counties. During the decade 1921 to 1931 these counties have gained no less than 700,000 inhabitants by migration, of whom roughly 300,000 came from London.

The motives for the efflux from London are more often the desire for better housing conditions and improved amenities than the economic urge to obtain higher wages. An interesting study of the growth and composition of the working population of the satellite town of Welwyn is given on pp. 254-9.

The present inquiry shows that the prediction made in 1888 has been verified, and that influx into the central area has become progressively of less volume and of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> p. 236

less moment to the life and labour of London as the conditions of town life have been transformed by the great rise in the level of public health. Meanwhile the progress of mechanisation is tending to make urban industry less dependent on the absorption of country bone and sinew.

The slight revival of immigration in post-war years seems to be of quite a different character from the movement from the country analysed in the Booth Survey. Its origin has been urban rather than rural, and the main motive force has been the difference in the level of employment between London and other great urban areas. Thus the characteristic immigrant has been rather the unemployed townsman seeking a job than the country labourer desiring to better himself. How far this is a merely temporary incident of an abnormal period time alone can show.

## XVII

While half a century ago London distress from unemployment was popularly ascribed to the influx from the country, the prevalence of "sweating"—a term loosely applied to the evils of low earnings, long hours and bad conditions prevailing in certain small-scale industries characteristic of East London—was no less generally attributed to the immigration of foreign Jews.

The early 'eighties had been marked by a large invasion of Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, and the social and economic effects of this immigration were actually being studied by two Government Committees when Charles Booth began his Survey.<sup>1</sup> It was natural therefore that the allied questions of alien immigration and of the Jewish community of East London should loom large in the "poverty" series of the Booth volumes.

The general effect of that inquiry was to show that the chief social evils attributable to the Jewish immigration arose not so much from its magnitude as from the

<sup>1</sup> The Lords Committee on Sweating 1888 to 1890, and the House of Commons Select Committee on Immigration, 1888-9.

concentration of the immigrants in certain congested areas of East London and in a group of highly localised trades. In each of these trades Charles Booth found "large numbers of impoverished and more or less suffering people."<sup>1</sup> While negating the popular view that "sweating" was the direct offspring of the Jewish influx, the Booth inquiry established a clear connection between certain evil characteristics of the "sweated trades" and the continued influx into them of foreign Jews bringing with them low standards of living and peculiar forms of competition. But as was pointed out, "the force of this competition depends on a continual stream of newcomers. Let this stop and it at once changes its character."<sup>2</sup>

In Chapter XI of the present volume the position of the Jewish community in East London is re-examined in relation to the life and labour of the district, and the results will serve as a basis of comparison both with the conditions portrayed in the early volumes of the Booth Survey, and also with the industrial conditions prevailing in the "sweated" trades before the enactment of the Trade Boards Acts.

### XVIII

It appears from the inquiry that there has been a great growth in the number of Jews in London, which is now put at 183,000 in the County of London compared with 60,000 to 70,000 in 1889. In Greater London the proportion of Jews to the total population almost exactly doubled in the interval. This great increase however has been accompanied by a considerable movement of dispersion, so that the former very marked concentration of the Jewish population in certain areas of East London has relatively diminished. Thus in 1889 nine out of ten of the Jews in London were living in Charles Booth's East London, whereas now the proportion is only six out of ten.

Still there has been a marked increase in the number

<sup>1</sup> Series I, Vol. 4, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

of Jews in East London, but within that area there has been a local dispersion from the centre to the outer ring. There has been also a diminution of industrial congestion, the Jewish workers being now distributed over a larger variety of trades. For example, in 1913 nearly half the new male entrants into Jewish friendly societies in London went into tailoring. In 1931 the proportion was one-fourth.<sup>1</sup>

During the last twenty years conditions of labour in the clothing and certain other typically "sweated" industries in which Jewish firms and workers abound have been largely transformed by the operation of the Trade Boards Acts.

Meanwhile, with the cessation of immigration the Jewish community in East London has become steadily less foreign, and the foreign-born element is now chiefly confined to the higher age groups.

The Jewish working-class community in East London is still on the whole a poor community, its proportion of poverty being slightly greater than that of the surrounding non-Jewish population (13.7 per cent. as compared with 12.1 per cent.). But in spite of the growth of its numbers its influence on the social economy of the district is less marked, and certainly less unhealthy, than in Charles Booth's day. The presence of the Jewish community is no longer a serious factor in the causation of East London poverty.

Miss Adler's study of the various influences at work within the Jewish community throws interesting side-lights on racial and religious problems which are wider than the scope of the present Survey. Some of the most powerful of these influences, educational, social and religious, make for "anglicisation"; others, e.g. the growth of "Zionism" with its appeal to race-consciousness, tend in the opposite direction. The opinion, however, is expressed that the "countering forces are too strong"<sup>2</sup> for this movement to check the inevitable tendency towards anglicisation. What this tendency

<sup>1</sup> p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> p. 281.



implies in the way of assimilation and what is the ultimate goal are questions which the Survey cannot attempt to answer.

## XIX

Statistical estimates of poverty and comparative indices of material progress are necessarily based on estimates of "real" income, and of its adequacy to furnish a family with the minimum means of subsistence. This is the only practicable method because it is the only one which admits of quantitative measurements. Nevertheless it has its shortcomings when its results are applied to individual families. As was pointed out in Volume I, "different households will obtain different amounts of satisfaction from identical incomes, for there is an art of expenditure and household economy no less than of acquisition."<sup>1</sup> It follows that in any particular family the degree of actual deprivation depends not only on the deficiency of purchasing power, but also on the use made by the housewife of the purchasing power at her disposal.

Good and bad catering, marketing and cooking are therefore important elements in the ultimate assessment of individual well-being or poverty, though they cannot be brought into account in statistical estimates or comparisons, and moreover there is room for a good deal of difference of opinion as to the precise nature of the relationship between poverty and bad housekeeping. There is a school of thought which regards ignorant and wasteful methods of marketing and cooking on the part of the housewife, and the irrational prejudices and fastidiousness of the family for which she caters, as important factors in the causation of poverty, while an opposing school of thought tends rather to regard defects in working-class household management as the direct result of bad housing and poverty.<sup>2</sup>

This difference of outlook has more than an academic importance, since it leads to deep differences of view as

<sup>1</sup> p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> p. 300.

to the possibilities and means of practical improvement. It has therefore been thought desirable to explore the problem here raised, at least in a tentative manner. This is the purpose of Chapter XII of the present volume. The principal difficulty found in pursuing this inquiry was the absence of any possibility of a statistical basis, for we are here in the region of personal tastes and preferences, on which disputes are proverbially futile. Nevertheless the inquiry serves to bring into prominence certain important factors which are often neglected.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn is that such terms as "good" or "bad," "wasteful" or "economical," as applied to household management are meaningless except in relation to the actual circumstances and conditions under which the housewife works.

The chapter analyses the difficulties which, in a working-class household impede the attainment of the ideally most nutritious and economical results from a given expenditure, which may be classified as lack of space, time and facilities, defects of skill and knowledge, and the obstruction of habits and prejudices. Some of these difficulties are bound up with the general housing problem; others result directly or indirectly from poverty conditions. Even such human factors as habits and prejudices are frequently attributable to the conditions of slum life. "A fastidious palate is often the result not of fine appreciation but of vitiated air and low physique. In the air of an overcrowded slum 'appetites are jaded and the food that would be nutritious and valuable and would be greedily eaten by people who lived in the open air seems tasteless and sickly to those who have slept four in a bed in a room 10 × 12 feet.'"<sup>1</sup>

The chief reason why the elaborate provision of cookery instruction in London schools has not up to the present made more impression on working-class methods is the long gap of years between school life and

<sup>1</sup> p. 325. The quotation is from the Reports of the Guildhall Conference on Diet, Cookery and Hygiene, 1913.

the practical application of the lessons. There seems however to be room for further development of practical means of instruction adapted to the needs of housewives and of those girls who are old enough to have the opportunity of practising what they learn.

There is little or no evidence that defects in household economy are to any substantial extent an independent cause of London poverty. Rather it would seem that some of the most formidable of these defects are intimately bound up with straitened economic circumstances, and are only remediable *pari passu* with the improvement of those conditions. Hence even if it were practicable to take account of differences in the use of household income, when assessing poverty for statistical purposes, it is doubtful if it would make any substantial difference to the results of the Street Survey and the House Sample inquiry.

While the great majority of the population of London are "normal," in the sense that they can lead independent lives as members of the general community, it is impossible to ignore the existence or the possible influence on general well-being of a small minority of persons who are so far below the general level of their fellows as to be incapable without assistance of adjusting their lives thereto and of playing their part as ordinary members of society. Accordingly in Chapter XIII of the present volume some of the economic and social aspects of mental deficiency are examined. It is important to remember that each grade of mental deficiency is only one stage in a descending scale of mental capacity shading down from mere dullness to idiocy. The enumeration of the mental defectives in the Survey Area is therefore a matter of great difficulty, but the conclusion is arrived at that the total number is probably in the neighbourhood of 38,000, of whom about 28,000 may be classed as "feeble minded" and the remainder as imbeciles or idiots.

It is with the feeble-minded, "many of whom are still able to some extent to mix with and form part of the general population,"<sup>1</sup> that the Survey is mainly concerned, and after deducting those who are segregated in institutions, the number living in private families is not very large.

The data analysed show that the earning power of the mental defective is meagre, unstable and unprogressive. The initial rates obtained by boys and girls fresh from the discipline and influence of the "special schools" provided for such children often compare not very unfavourably with those of normal juveniles of similar ages. But the gap widens rapidly, and by the time that adult age is reached, the average difference is nearly £1 a week. "Those who are fortunate enough to be employed have usually to accept the lowest paid jobs and often to work the longest hours."<sup>2</sup>

Any analysis of the local distribution of mental defectives shows that, as might be expected on general grounds, there is a close association between mental deficiency and conditions of poverty and degradation. For example, in the Eastern Sector of the County of London, the number of children in "special schools" per 10,000 children of school age is 96 in streets coloured or striped with blue in the poverty maps, 62 in those coloured purple, and 38 in those coloured pink. In streets coloured or striped with black to indicate crime or degradation the corresponding proportion is 109, and in streets not so coloured only 55.

The main inference which the data suggest is that while mental deficiency cannot be regarded as an important source of poverty in the general community, the conditions of slum life and degraded environment which encourage inter-breeding are an appreciable factor in fostering and perpetuating mental deficiency. Thus the policy of breaking up and dispersing congested centres of poverty and degradation is seen to have an important bearing on the mental deficiency problem.

<sup>1</sup> p. 338

<sup>2</sup> p. 363.

Another conclusion of a practical order which emerges is that the lives of a large number of the feeble-minded at present struggling against hopeless odds in their present environment might be made much happier and more useful if they were placed in communities under skilled supervision where they would find "care suited to their needs and employment regulated according to their ability."<sup>1</sup>

## XXI

The final impression left on the mind by the results of the Social Survey is one of hope tempered by anxiety. The cumulative evidence presented in this and previous volumes of the vast diminution of poverty in its severest forms which has taken place during the forty years which separate the present Survey from Charles Booth's original inquiry, will naturally inspire hopes that further progress in the same direction will reduce such extreme poverty to vanishing point. Similarly the undoubted rise in the level of physical and economic well-being during the same period will encourage a reasonable expectation of further all-round improvement in standards of life.

Nevertheless there is little ground for complacency, when it is remembered that, notwithstanding all the improvement, nearly half a million of the inhabitants of the London Survey Area were found to be living in 1929 below a poverty line fixed according to the low standards of a past generation. Still less can we rest satisfied to see scattered over the surface of the new maps a number of festering centres of congested poverty and degradation, thankful as we are that these breeding grounds of vice, crime and deficiency are so much less frequent and conspicuous than on Charles Booth's poverty maps.

It is satisfactory to know that the acutest suffering caused by destitution and the fear thereof has been removed or at least blunted by the operation of the Social Services, but we cannot forget that of the poverty which persists, a higher *proportion* is now due to lack of employ-

<sup>1</sup> p. 362.

ment and that the "dynamic" poverty caused by a sudden decrease in the usual means of subsistence is likely to produce more conscious distress than the "static" poverty arising from a low customary standard of living.

Yet another ground for vigilance if not anxiety is the possibility that different forms of social improvement, each in itself desirable, may be found to be so inter-related that too rapid an advance along one line may retard progress along another; that, for example, there may be a correlation between increased wages and growth of unemployment, or between a rise in the general level of efficiency and an increased proportion of "deficients" who cannot reach that level; or that some forms of material progress may not be conducive to cultural and spiritual growth. Some light has been thrown on certain aspects of these problems by the special studies which have formed part of the Social Survey, some other aspects will be dealt with in the survey of social habits and ways of life which will be included in the final volume of this series; but we are here on the verge of large and baffling questions to which an inquiry like the present cannot hope to furnish a complete and conclusive answer.

Finally, it must not be imagined that the advances made in the forty years period have come automatically of themselves, without conscious and sustained efforts on the part of the community. In the course of the Survey there has been frequent occasion to note the conspicuous part played in the improvement of social conditions by such measures as Old Age Pensions, Social Insurance and the Trade Boards Acts, not to mention the administration of the laws relating to Health, Education and Public Assistance. It would be a grave error to assume that social progress has now reached a point at which any of these efforts can be safely relaxed. Any such relaxation might not only mean the arrest of progress but the loss of ground already gained.

PART I  
THE HOUSE SAMPLE ANALYSIS  
*WESTERN AND WHOLE SURVEY AREAS*

CHAPTER I  
THE FAMILY

THE method employed in making an investigation by sample of working-class families was exactly the same in the Western as in the Eastern Area, but was carried out a few months later.<sup>1</sup> In some boroughs it was not completed before the increase of unemployment that began in 1930 had had some effect in London.

As before, the proportion of households included in the sample from the smaller boroughs was greater than from the larger, to ensure sufficient precision in separate borough reports; and in the figures relating to the area as a whole due account was taken of this variation of the sampling factors.<sup>2</sup>

In general, the cards were filled in completely and apparently with accuracy, though in some cases revision was necessary.<sup>3</sup> The returns for wages and for income were, as was to be expected, less complete than for other details, but, as will be seen in Chapter III, they were sufficient for adequate description and analysis for the

<sup>1</sup> See Note 1, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> See Note 2, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> The returns for Paddington, St. Marylebone and Westminster needed correction and the statistics for those boroughs are rather less reliable than for others. The uncertainty, however, was not sufficient to affect significantly the statistics for the area as a whole.

area as a whole. In about 5 per cent. of the cases no information was obtainable.

ANALYSIS OF CARDS				
	Working Class.	Middle Class.	Waste.	Total.
Eastern Area . .	737	211	52	1,000
Western Area . .	643	301	56	1,000

It was argued in Volume III, pp. 32-5, that there was no evident bias in the refusals, which came sporadically from all classes. It seems best not to attempt any rectification of the proportions, but to take the cards as completed in each section of the inquiry as a fair sample of all, and it is believed that the want of precision from this cause is small. In particular, it is not thought that there is any serious omission in the returns of excessive overcrowding and of high rents, though these form a smaller proportion of all than perhaps would have been anticipated.

In considering the proportion of the middle class to all, it must always be remembered that the areas of the Survey are not complete economic entities. In Greater London the middle class forms a much larger proportion in the outlying suburbs of Surrey, Middlesex, Essex and Kent than in the County of London or in most of the external boroughs included in the Survey. The incidence of poverty on the population as a whole is therefore over-estimated; it relates to an area from which are excluded many of the richer families that depend on it for their work and incomes. This does not affect the main purpose or results of the House Sample inquiry, for that excludes the middle class completely, but it does render more difficult comparison with Charles Booth's results and with the statistics of the Street Survey.

When the "waste" cards are excluded, we find that the proportion of middle-class families to all was approximately 22 per cent. in the East, 32 per cent. in the West, and 28 per cent. in the whole area. These may be slightly under-estimated, since in middle-class houses not



actually visited there may have been more than one family, but for the reasons given before (Volume III, p. 35) it is not thought that any correction is necessary from this cause.

These figures differ very markedly from the results of the classification in the Street Survey. There the percentages of persons in middle-class families to all are 11 in the Eastern and 23 in the Western Area, and in most boroughs individually the figures for the middle class are smaller than in the House Sample results. The figures of the Street Survey are based primarily on families that contain children of school age, but this incompleteness was rectified as far as possible by the help of other estimates (see Volume III, pp. 114 *seq.*). The main reason for the difference must lie in a difference of definition. In the Street Survey the criterion was *income*, in the House Sample the nature of the *occupation* of the head of the family. The rules given for delimitation of the manual-working class in the House Sample (Volume III, p. 416) were not the same as for classes P, U, S, M<sup>1</sup> in the Street Survey (Volume III, pp. 105-6). The latter counts as "M", families whose incomes were above £5 a week. The former counts also as middle class those families of which the head was in a commercial or other "black coated" occupation whatever his income, and a study of salaries shows that there is a great number who do not earn £5 a week.<sup>2</sup>

Before the Census of 1931 was published there were no sufficient data for estimating the average number of persons per family, and it was supposed that the average for middle-class households was slightly less than that for the working class. The figures given in Table VII at the end of the chapter (p. 44) do not support the view. The average family in the Whole Survey Area is 3.52 according to the Census of 1931 (and must have been practically the same in 1929) and in the working class is 3.48 according to the sample. After allowance

<sup>1</sup> For definitions, see p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> For further discussion of difference, see pp. 151-4.

for the margin of error inherent in sampling it is seen that the table discloses no regular relationship between the two averages in the separate boroughs. Thus the average Census family is definitely larger than the working-class family, and it is at least suggested that the average middle-class household, including resident servants, contains more persons than the working-class household. In fact, the number of resident servants accounts for about 0.18 persons per middle-class family, enough to account for the difference.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that children remain at home on the whole to a later age in the middle class. The same proportions of middle class to total are assumed for persons and for families, since the differences are too small to affect any comparisons we wish to make.

The general consilience of the averages from the two sources in Table VII gives evidence of the reliability of the samples. There are, however, some differences which are difficult to explain; the four boroughs with the largest proportions of middle-class population, Hampstead, Hornsey, Chelsea, and Kensington, show no consistent relationship between the averages.

The succession of Tables I to VI gives the same detail as the corresponding Tables in Volume III, pp. 38 to 50.

Partly owing to the greater prevalence of "families" consisting of 1 or 2 persons in the Western Area (Table I) the average family is smaller than in the Eastern. There is considerable variation in the distribution within the Western Area. In Table II it is seen that the proportion of families with no dependent children is greater in the West. The cases where there are earners in addition to a man are smaller in the West as a whole. In Table III more detail is shown.

In the Western Area as a whole, the families in which a man, who lives with a wife or children, is earning

<sup>1</sup> An addition of 0.18 to 28 per cent. of the families gives an addition of 0.05 to the general average, while the difference between the working class and the general average named above is 0.04.

form 717 per 1,000 of all; in the External boroughs the figure reaches 792. Such a man is the sole earner in 453 per 1,000 households, but this proportion varies from 423 in the Inner Northern boroughs to 496 in the External boroughs. Children are also earning in 214 per 1,000 cases, but wives in only 50, though even this small proportion is greater than in the Eastern boroughs.

The great variation between districts in this classification is remarkable, and is paralleled in the corresponding table for the Eastern Area (Volume III, p. 40). There is no obvious reason, for example, why the group that includes widows and other women with no male earners should be greater in the West than in the East (e.g., above 146 of 1,000 families in Inner North-West, and in Outer North-West II, and below 60 in External boroughs East and Outer South-East). Since this group consists largely of women living alone and going out to work, the explanation may lie in the local distribution of occupations.

Table IV summarises the relative numbers of earners and dependants, irrespective of the constitution of the family. The largest entry is for families with one earner and one dependant (208 per 1,000 West, 159 East). The traditional statistical family of man earning, wife and three children dependent, is less than 40 per 1,000 (West) or 50 per 1,000 (East).

If we exclude the 87 per 1,000 families in which there are no earners we get the variation of the family between the boroughs shown below.

Among these families in the Total Survey Area there are 172 earners to 195 dependants.

In times of unemployment the existence of more than one earner in the family is of special importance. In the Western Area there are two or more earners in rather more than one-third of the families (344 per 1,000). In 214 of these 344 we find a man and one or more children earning, as analysed in the Table on p. 35. Usually the wife is one of the non-earners.

## THE HOUSE SAMPLE ANALYSIS

## AVERAGE WORKING-CLASS FAMILY, OMITTING FAMILIES WITHOUT EARNERS

	Average Family.	
	Earners.	Non-earner
Finsbury . . . . .	1.82	1.88
Holborn . . . . .	1.60	1.51
Westminster . . . . .	1.45	1.54
Inner North . . . . .	1.63	1.68
North Lambeth . . . . .	1.67	1.82
Southwark . . . . .	1.76	1.95
Inner South . . . . .	1.72	1.89
Fulham . . . . .	1.73	1.81
Hammersmith . . . . .	1.82	1.85
Islington . . . . .	1.65	1.91
St. Pancras . . . . .	1.69	1.68
Outer North (Group I) . . . . .	1.70	1.83
Chelsea . . . . .	1.85	1.98
Hampstead . . . . .	1.59	1.60
Kensington . . . . .	1.78	1.77
Paddington . . . . .	1.39	1.35
St. Marylebone . . . . .	1.70	1.75
Outer North (Group II). . . . .	1.62	1.62
Battersea . . . . .	1.63	1.98
Camberwell . . . . .	1.73	1.88
South Lambeth . . . . .	1.51	1.69
Wandsworth . . . . .	1.62	1.98
Outer South . . . . .	1.64	1.89
Acton . . . . .	1.81	1.86
Hornsey . . . . .	1.55	1.88
Willesden . . . . .	1.67	2.04
External . . . . .	1.68	1.97
WESTERN SURVEY AREA . . . . .	1.67	1.83
EASTERN SURVEY AREA . . . . .	1.78	2.09
WHOLE SURVEY AREA. . . . .	1.72	1.95

## MAN AND CHILDREN EARNING.

*Number of Families per 1,000 of all Working-Class Families.*

Number of Dependents	Western Survey Area				Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area.
	Number of Children Earning	1	2	3 or more	Total	
0 . . . . .	4	3	1	8	7	8
1 . . . . .	43	28	18	89	108	98
2 . . . . .	22	17	14	53	58	55
3 . . . . .	12	8	8	28	36	32
4 or more . . . . .	16	9	10	26	50	42
WESTERN SURVEY AREA	97	65	51	214	—	—
EASTERN SURVEY AREA	109	80	70	—	259	—
WHOLE SURVEY AREA	102	72	60	—	—	234

The analysis of family by age and sex constitution and earning power could be continued indefinitely. With the twelve subdivisions by age and sex we have adopted and the distinction between earners and non-earners, there are several hundred subdivisions of types of families that are distinguishable. Many of them would refer in a Survey continued over a long period to the same family at different stages: e.g. man (earning) and wife; man, and wife and 1, 2, 3 children none earning; man, 3 children all earning and wife; widow, old age pensioner living alone.

In the earlier tables it is noticeable that the number of families with 3 or more children living with their parents is small—less than 13 per cent. in the whole area (Table II)—and that large families are quite rare. But in an instantaneous survey where families at all stages are included, of course we do not attain any knowledge of the families in which there have been or will be a considerable number of children. It may be possible at some later date to use the information on the cards for further analysis of the size of families in different classes or districts. At present we have only the one

aspect of the actual number of dependants and earners living in families which is of primary importance in connection with the relation of income to needs.

In Table V is given detail of the average family from a purely statistical point of view, so as to provide factors for calculations which involve the actual numbers of persons of different ages, earners and dependants, or those which relate to the constituents of average income and similar general computations.<sup>1</sup>

The same data are exhibited in a different form in Table VI. Here we see that in the Whole Survey Area among the working class the earners form 450 per 1,000 of all (male 322, female 128); children under 14 are 266 per 1,000; persons over 65 years amount to 20 (male) and 29 (female). Very few males of working age are recorded as having no occupation.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

### 1. *Dates of completion of the collection of the information*

#### EASTERN AREA

1929	1930	1931
Bethnal Green	Bermondsey	Deptford
Shoreditch	Greenwich	Jewisham
Stepney	Woolwich	Walthamstow
Hackney	Barking	Last Ham
Poplar	Leyton	
Stoke Newington	Tottenham	
West Ham		

#### WESTERN AREA

1929.	1930	1931
Finsbury	Holborn	Lambeth <sup>2</sup>
Islington	Westminster	Southwark
	Fulham	St Pancras <sup>4</sup>
	Hammersmith	Hampstead
	Chelsea	Paddington
	Kensington	Camberwell
	St. Marylebone	Willesden
	Battersea	
	Wandsworth	
	Acton	
	Hornsey	

<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of the Western Area brings down the average numbers, especially in the case of children. Comparisons with other towns and earlier dates are given in Volume III, p. 50. See also Chapter V below, Table A, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Finished by March, 1932.

2. *Variation of Sampling Factors.*—Since the sampling factor varied from borough to borough, it was necessary to know the exact factor in order to combine the results for each borough into larger aggregates, so that the entries in the tables should be in the form of weighted averages. The method by which these factors were determined is explained in detail in Volume III, Appendix III, p. 436. For most of the tables in which boroughs are combined, the factors used for the weighted averages were as follows:

Finchbury	5	St Pancras	5	South Lambeth	7
Holborn	2	Chelsea	5	Wandsworth	8
Westminster	7	Hampstead	4	Acton	3
North Lambeth	6	Kensington	7	Hornsey	4
Southwark	6	Paddington	5	Willesden	7
Fulham	5	St Marylebone	6	Total Western Area	116
Hammersmith	6	Battersea	6		
Islington	5	Camberwell	7	„ Eastern „	100

3. *Note to Tables.*—The statistics are given as computed from the sample, and for ordinary purposes may be regarded as approximately accurate for the whole working class as defined in Volume III, pp 34–5 and 416.

But the last unit entered is not always certainly established (owing to the fact that we are making inferences from a sample to a larger population), and a margin of error must be allowed for, so that the figures must be regarded as a little rough and not capable of supporting fine calculations. The amount of this margin for the various Tables is indicated in Appendix IV, Volume III, pp. 439–48.

Since in all the detailed entries, as well as in the totals, the numbers are in general given to the nearest unit, etc., the items do not always add up exactly to the totals.

## THE HOUSE SAMPLE ANALYSIS

TABLE I  
NUMBER OF PERSONS IN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES. DISTRIBUTION PER 1,000 FAMILIES.

Number of Persons.	Western Survey Area.						Western Survey Area.	Eastern Survey Area.	Whole Survey Area.
	Inner.		Outer.		South of Thames*.	External Boroughs.			
	North of Thames.	South of Thames.	North of Thames.	Group II.					
1 . . . . .	167	129	128	164	92	54	118	93	107
2 . . . . .	309	250	249	314	282	245	271	214	245
3 . . . . .	165	218	230	197	239	259	225	231	228
4 . . . . .	153	156	174	135	178	195	168	181	174
5 . . . . .	89	112	99	82	98	123	100	114	106
6 . . . . .	51	56	56	55	55	62	56	77	65
7 . . . . .	36	40	27	30	25	34	30	41	35
8 . . . . .	15	20	21	13	17	13	17	25	21
9 or more. . . . .	15	19	16	10	14	14	15	24	19
	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Average Number of Persons per Family . . . . .	3.18	3.41	3.35	3.11	3.34	3.53	3.32	3.69	3.48
Absentee earners included, lodgers excluded.									

Absentee earners included, lodgers excluded.



TABLE II  
CLASSIFICATION OF WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES BY EARNING STRENGTH AND  
NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN  
Per 1,000 Families

Number of Dependent Children <sup>1</sup>	West rn Survey Area				Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	Adult Male Earning		No Adult Male Earning				
	Alone	With Others	Women and Children Earning	No Earnings			
0	220	157	86	80	544	487	518
1	132	70	14	3	218	220	219
2	81	37	5	2	126	145	135
3	78	20	3	2	62	76	68
4	16	12	1	—	29	39	34
5	7	7	—	—	14	20	17
6	2	—	—	—	5	8	6
7 or more	1	1	—	—	2	5	3
WESTERN SURVEY AREA	497	306	110	87	1,000	1,000	1,000
EASTERN SURVEY AREA	482	356	84	79	1,000	1,000	1,000
WHOLE SURVEY AREA	490	329	96	83	1,000	1,000	1,000

Absentee earners included lodgers excluded

<sup>1</sup> Males under 18 years, females under 16, where not earning

## THE HOUSE SAMPLE ANALYSIS

TABLE III  
CLASSIFICATION OF WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES BY EARNING GROUPS  
AND NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN  
Per 1,000 Families

	Western Survey Area						Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	Inner		Outer		L x terral Ber- oughs				
	North	South	North						
			Group I	Group II					
						South			
1 Man only earning (Married or Widower with Children)									
Dependent Children—0	194	158	152	10	138	107	18	140	161
1	83	1	133	14	147	164	130	13	133
2	5	63	51	57	5	18	8	7	85
3	34	48	34	3	4	36	36	45	43
4 or more	30	30	5	2	1	6		33	13
	43	4	433	426	431	46	45	447	450
2 Man and Children Earning (Married or Widower)									
Dependent Children—0	71	95	99	84	12	110	1	13	111
1	44	51	47	43	5	30	5	54	54
2	5		3	1	6	30		3	31
3	14	1	15	12	17	1	1	20	18
4 or more	16	23	1	11	16	15	1	6	
	170	216	11	14	3	36	11	53	34
3 Man and Wife Earning (with or without others)									
Dependent Children—0	35	18	30	11	15	3		18	22
1	16	1	14	0	4	15		6	10
2	11	8	9	1	1	5	7	5	6
3	2	5	3	6	1	4	3	3	3
4 or more	3	5		7	1	3			
	67	46	6	5	3	58		31	41
4 Widow or other Woman over 18 years Earning									
Dependent Children—0	127	87	82	12	11	59	63	59	72
1	13	1	14	14	11	10	13	9	11
2 or more	12	8	10	11	4	6	5	8	8
	152	107	106	147	27	76	104	76	111
5 Adult Sons (with or without sisters) Earning									
	55	61	46	36	43	37	45	46	46
6 Man Living Alone and Earning									
	37	30	35	37	15	8	26	4	25
7 No Adult Earners									
	7	7	6	3	7	7	6	7	6
8 Other Earning Groups not included in any of the above									
	13	14	18	13	13	2	15	24	19
9 No Earners									
	76	93	87	83	95	59	87	79	83
Total	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000

In this Table all males 16 and over and females 18 and over are counted as adults; all males under 18 and females under 16 are counted as children; males 18-20 and females 16-18 adults if dependent, children if earning.

TABLE IV  
CLASSIFICATION OF WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF EARNERS AND  
BY NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS  
Per 1,000 Families

Number of Dependants all Ages	Western Survey Area								Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	Number of Earners										
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Inner boroughs	Outer boroughs			
0	—	65	33	12	5	2	143	141	68	143	109
1	54	68	66	33	16	8	386	338	349	391	372
2	27	114	115	—	12	6	221	247	251	246	251
3	1	65	114	11	5	4	114	126	157	117	136
4	1	46	1	6	4	—	68	60	66	13	71
5	—	17	5	3	—	1	31	28	30	29	34
6 or more	—	11	5	3	—	1	6	2	21	21	27
<hr/>											
Inner Boroughs	87	5	153	83	18	8	1 000	—	—	—	—
Outer Boroughs	20	1	11	26	44	—	—	1 000	—	—	—
External Boroughs	53	51	135	112	28	18	—	—	1 000	—	—
<hr/>											
WESTERN SURVEY AREA	67	56	177	121	45	24	—	—	—	1 000	—
<hr/>											
EASTERN SURVEY AREA	79	540	125	108	55	34	—	—	—	—	1 000
<hr/>											
WHOLE SURVEY AREA	83	556	182	101	49	29	—	—	—	—	1,000

Absentee earners included lodgers excluded

TABLE V  
THE AVFRAGI WORKING-CLASS FAMILY  
*Number of Persons per 100 Families, Distributed by Age and Sex, and  
Distinguishing Earners from Non-Earners*  
(Families with No Earners Included)

Western Survey Area									
	Inner		Outer			External Ber- roughs	Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	North	South	North Group I	South Group II	South				
<b>Earners</b>									
<b>Male</b>									
65 and over	2	2	2	3	3	—	2	2	2
20-65	85	81	82	81	93	86	81	81	85
18-20	5	6	5	4	5	6	5	6	6
16-18	5	6	5	4	6	5	5	6	5
14-16	3	5	4	3	3	4	4	5	4
<b>Female</b>									
65 and over	—	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1
18-65	31	37	37	40	31	34	35	37	35
16-18	6	6	5	5	6	5	5	6	5
14-16	3	4	3	3	3	3	—	4	3
<b>Non Earner</b>									
<b>Male</b>									
65 and over	3	6	4	4	5	4	5	5	5
20-65	3	1	—	2	—	2	2	—	4
18-20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16-18	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14-16	—	1	1	2	4	3	2	2	4
<b>Female</b>									
65 and over	10	10	9	10	11	9	10	—	10
18-65	66	72	72	66	61	61	74	61	77
16-18	1	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	1
14-16	2	1	2	—	—	3	2	3	3
<b>Children</b>									
5-14	55	63	60	53	57	64	58	74	64
3-5	13	12	13	10	11	13	12	14	13
0-3	15	16	15	14	14	16	14	16	15
<b>Total Earners</b>	150	156	155	147	148	158	152	164	156
<b>Total Non-Earners</b>	168	185	180	163	169	135	180	405	19
<b>ALL PERSONS</b>	318	341	335	311	317	293	332	569	348

Absentee earners included both sexes included

TABLE VI  
DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING-CLASS POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX,  
DISTINGUISHING EARNERS FROM NON-EARNERS

Per 1,000 Persons.

Western Survey Area									
	Inner		Outer		Isch	External Bor oughs	Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	North	South	North	South					
Group I	Group II								
<i>Earners</i>									
<i>Male</i>									
65 and over	7	7	7	3	5	7	7	5	6
20-65	67	67	3	22	3	5	74	270	272
18-20	11	13	11	1	11	17	16	17	16
16-18	15	17	6	11	17	5	16	16	16
14-16	9	15	12	3	10	11	11	13	12
<i>Female</i>									
65 and over	5	3		5	5	3	3	1	2
18-65	124	107	111	15	57	96	105	94	100
16-18	19	16	11	15	15	14	16	16	16
14-16	11	12	1	6	10	3	10	11	10
<i>Non Earners</i>									
<i>Male</i>									
65 and over	6	17	13		1	12	14	14	14
20-65	5	1	6	6	5	5	5	5	5
18-20									
16-18			1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14-16	6	4	4	6	7	9	6	7	6
<i>Female</i>									
65 and over	30	30	6	3	32	2	23	24	27
18-65	227	211	215	214	241	23	223	220	222
16-18	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
14-16		3	7	7	6	8	6	7	6
<i>Children</i>									
5-14	173	186	178	172	170	182	176	174	184
3-5	40	36	4	32	34	36	30	38	37
0-3	17	47	41	40	13	44	15	45	45
<i>Total Earners</i>	475	458	464	474	444	414	458	443	451
<i>Total Non Earners</i>	527	54	556	56	556	582	542	557	549
<hr/>									
ALL PERSONS	1 000	1 000	1 0	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 0	1 000	1 000

ALL PERSONS 1 000 1 000 1 0 1 000 1 000 1 00 1 0 1 000 1 000

Absentee earner included lodgers excluded

TABLE VII  
AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILIES AND PROPORTION OF MIDDLE-CLASS TO ALL.

Boroughs.	Average Family.		Middle-Class Cards as Percentage of all. <sup>1</sup>	Boroughs.	Average Family.		Middle-Class Cards as Percentage of all. <sup>1</sup>
	Census, 1931.	Working-Class Sample, 1929-30.			Census, 1931.	Working-Class Sample, 1929-30.	
Bethnal Green	Persons. 3,79	Persons. 3,79 $\pm$ 0.04	8	Finsbury	Persons. 3,54	Persons. 3,54 $\pm$ 0.05	11
Shoreditch	3,77	3,83 $\pm$ 0.05	6	Holborn	2,74	2,89 $\pm$ 0.06	22
Sterney	3,92	3,84 $\pm$ 0.04	14	Westminster	3,07	2,90 $\pm$ 0.06	43
Barnsbury	3,77	3,67 $\pm$ 0.04	14	Lambeth	3,35	3,21 $\pm$ 0.03	26 <sup>2</sup>
Hackney	3,53	3,39 $\pm$ 0.04	28	Southwark	3,54	3,48 $\pm$ 0.04	9
Poplar	3,85	3,74 $\pm$ 0.04	8	Fulham	3,38	3,36 $\pm$ 0.04	27
Stoke Newington	3,32	3,40 $\pm$ 0.04	36	Hammer-smith	3,43	3,52 $\pm$ 0.05	27
Deptford	3,56	3,50 $\pm$ 0.06	17	Islington	3,30	3,39 $\pm$ 0.03	22
Greenwich	3,74	3,83 $\pm$ 0.05	10	St. Pancras	3,13	3,15 $\pm$ 0.03	19
Lewisham	3,65	3,47 $\pm$ 0.05	45	Chelsea	3,22	3,60 $\pm$ 0.09	52
Woolwich	3,61	3,35 $\pm$ 0.05	24	Hampstead	3,32	3,60 $\pm$ 0.08	66
Barking	4,07	3,88 $\pm$ 0.06	20	Kensington	3,28	3,04 $\pm$ 0.06	52
East Ham	3,71	3,93 $\pm$ 0.06	24	Paddington	3,08	2,87 <sup>2</sup>	37
Leyton	3,59	3,32 $\pm$ 0.06	31	St. Marylebone	3,99	3,42 <sup>2</sup>	46
Tottenham	3,72	3,79 $\pm$ 0.06	32	Battersea	3,47	3,42 $\pm$ 0.04	24
Walthamstow	3,75	3,79 $\pm$ 0.06	26	Camden	3,54	3,33 $\pm$ 0.04	22
West Ham	3,06	3,63 $\pm$ 0.04	13	Wandsworth	3,50	3,45 $\pm$ 0.04	45
				Acton	3,54	3,33 $\pm$ 0.05	35
				Hammersmith	3,32	3,24 $\pm$ 0.06	63
				Willesden	3,60	3,53 $\pm$ 0.05	31
EASTERN SURVEY AREA.	3,73	3,69 $\pm$ 0.01	25	WESTERN SURVEY AREA	3,37	3,32 $\pm$ 0.01	32
WHOLE SURVEY AREA	3,52	3,48 $\pm$ 0.01	25				

The Numbers, such as  $\pm 0.04$ , show the "probable error" of the averages as computed from the mathematical theory of sampling. See Volume III, Appendix IV.

<sup>1</sup> Ignoring cards on which there was insufficient information.

<sup>2</sup> There is some uncertainty about these averages.

<sup>3</sup> North Lambeth 13, South Lambeth 36.

## CHAPTER II

### RENT AND OVERCROWDING

#### 1. RENT

House accommodation in the Western Survey Area as a whole has many general characteristics in common with those in the Eastern Area, but the House Sample shows that the proportions of the various types of accommodation<sup>1</sup> are different and average rent is a little higher in the West.

#### PROPORTION IN VARIOUS TYPES OF WORKING-CLASS TENEMENTS.

	Separate Houses	Divided Houses	Flats	Lessors	Sub- tenants	All
<i>Western Survey Area*</i>						
Inner Boroughs	12	32	21	15	21	100
Outer Boroughs	16	30	4	17	24	100
External Boroughs	26	41	7	13	17	100
 WESTERN SURVEY AREA	 16	 36	 7	 16	 23	 100
 EASTERN SURVEY AREA	 32	 19	 4	 20	 25	 100
 WHOLE SURVEY AREA	 23	 29	 6	 18	 24	 100

In the Western Area divided houses form the largest proportion among the types, while in the Eastern Area (except in the Inner Boroughs) separate houses are the most prevalent. In both East and West separate and also divided houses increase in proportion as we pass from the Inner to the Outer and to the External Boroughs. Flats are more prevalent in the West, especially in the

<sup>1</sup> See Vol III, p. 52, for definitions.

Inner Boroughs, than in the East. There is more regularity in the proportions of lessors and sub-tenants, but in Table VIII it is seen that the number of cases in which the occupying lessor receives from sub-tenants more than the whole of his own rent is greater in the West, 11 per 1,000 against 4 per 1,000 in the East.

In both areas three-roomed tenements are more numerous than any other, but in the West the proportion of one and especially two rooms is greater than in the East, while four and more rooms are less common.

In Table VIII it is seen that there is very great variation in the rent paid, independently of the number of rooms. Thus the rents of two-roomed tenements vary from merely nominal amounts, where the occupier is sub-letting rooms, to over 20s., while the majority range from 6s. to 13s. The proportion at the higher rents is greater in the West, but rents over 20s. are rare. The average of all rents is about 12s. 5d. About one-tenth of the rents are under 6s., a quarter under 8s. 6d., half under 11s. 6d.; a quarter are above 15s. and one-ninth above 20s.

From Table IX it is seen that the average rent for each type of tenement is greater in the West than in the East both per tenement and per room. As is to be expected, sub-tenants pay more per room than do independent tenants, and still more than the residual rent of the lessors. In the Western Area and in each of its three main divisions the average rent per room for sub-tenants is more than 2s. over the lessor's residual rent, while in the Eastern Area the difference was under 2s. There is not much difference per room between Separate Houses, Divided Houses and Flats, but the number of rooms is greatest in Separate Houses.

The rent per room falls as the size of the tenement increases from 1 to 5 rooms; in larger tenements of all kinds the average rent per room is 3s. 6d. to 3s. 10d. in the West and 3s. to 3s. 4d. in the East.

In the Whole Survey Area the average rent per tenement (excluding owned and free houses and "negative"



TABLE VIII

RENT (ALL TYPES OF RENTAL)

*Working-Class Households. Per 1,000 Families.*

Net Rent	Western Survey Area							Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	Number of Rooms									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more			
Under 3s	4	2	3	2				11	17	14
3s to 3s 11d	9	2	2	1		—	—	15	23	19
4s " 4s 11d	18	4	3	1		—	—	27	35	30
5s " 5s 11d	25	9	5	1		—	—	40	51	45
6s " 6s 11d	17	20	8	5		—	—	48	52	53
7s " 7s 11d	12	24	14	5	1			46	67	61
8s " 8s 11d	17	34	20	5	—	—	—	70	81	76
9s " 9s 11d	1	31	1	8	1			64	74	68
10s " 10s 11d	9	42	19	16	—	—	—	108	94	102
11s " 11s 11d		13	31	1	1			46	48	57
12s " 12s 11d	3	1	36	17	3	—	—	79	71	78
13s " 13s 11d		6	14	1	4			36	41½	40
14s " 14s 11d	—	7	18	16	4		—	47	44	46
15s " 15s 11d	1	12	27	14	5	—	—	53	55½	57
16s " 16s 11d	1	5	11	11	5	1	—	34	46	39
17s " 17s 11d	—	3	9	10	4	—	—	26	40	33
18s " 18s 11d	—	—	17	7	—	—	—	27	21	24
19s " 19s 11d	—	—	—	3	2	—	—	5	9	8
20s " 20s 11d	—	3	12	10	4	1	—	31	17	25
21s or more	—	—	1	23	17	5	2	70	31	52
Total	114	114	310	179	58	10	2	917	918	917
Tenements free or under-occupied	1	3	16	16	11	4	1	52	54	53
Negative rents¹	1	—	5	—	—	—	—	11	4	8
No statement	1	3	7	6	3	—	—	20	24	22
WESTERN SURVEY AREA	118	253	318	202	72	14	3	1,000	—	—
EASTERN SURVEY AREA	107	193	200½	264½	120½	21	3½	—	1,000	—
WHOLE SURVEY AREA	113	226	317	230	94	17	3	—	—	1,000

The rent includes rates. Furnished rooms are excluded.

¹ I.e. where rents paid by lessors are less than total amount they receive from sub-tenants.

rents) is 12s. approximately, and per room is 4s. approximately.

The Survey "Areas" are by no means homogeneous, and in Table X the averages for the boroughs are shown separately. Sub-tenants pay most per room in Holborn, Westminster, Hampstead, Paddington and Willesden,

TABLE IX  
AVERAGE RENT  
*Working-Class Households.*

Number of Rooms	Western Survey Area					Eastern Survey Area			Whole Survey Area		
	Separate Houses	Divided Houses	Flats	Lessons	Sub Tenants	Per Tenement (all tenants)	Per Tenement (all tenants)	Per Room	Per Tenement (all tenants)	Per Room	Per Room
1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
2	113	67	52	43	71	67	67	52	67	52	62
3	139	105	92	66	111	103	103	87	103	87	98
4	158	136	126	93	140	129	129	108	129	108	12
5	199	166	156	117	167	152	152	131	152	131	143
6	231	225	210	133	132	183	183	157	183	157	170
7 or more	94	272	—	258	—	211	211	192	211	192	34
						285	285	201	285	201	34
<i>Inner Boroughs</i>											
Average per Tenement	151	117	103	113	102	112	112	97	112	97	—
Average per Room	44	51	41	32	61	46	46	40	46	35	35
<i>Outer Boroughs</i>											
Average per Tenement	133	133	138	97	106	122	122	117	122	117	—
Average per Room	43	47	31	30	53	45	45	45	45	33	—
<i>External Boroughs</i>											
Average per Tenement	109	148	151	111	132	154	154	117	154	117	—
Average per Room	45	50	47	34	60	48	48	33	48	33	—
<i>Western Survey Area</i>											
Average per Tenement	172	124	132	102	110	114	114	—	114	—	—
Average per Room	44	48	45	32	56	46	46	—	46	—	—
<i>Eastern Survey Area</i>											
Average per Tenement	145	110	110	86	92	112	112	—	112	—	—
Average per Room	35	39	36	26	435	35	35	—	35	—	—
<i>Whole Survey Area</i>											
Average per Tenement	160	118	12	95	102	119	119	—	119	—	—
Average per Room	40	41	11	2	50	41	41	—	41	—	—

The averages are stated in shillings and decimals of a shilling not shillings and pence

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TABLE X  
AVERAGE RENTS,<sup>1</sup> CLASSIFIED BY BOROUGH.  
*Working-Class Households.*

Borough.	Per Tenement.					Per Room				
	Separate Houses.	Divided Houses.	Flats.	Lessors Net.	Sub-Tenants	Separate Houses.	Divided Houses.	Flats.	Lessors Net.	Sub-Tenants.
Finsbury . . . . .	15.8	9.5	9.7	12.0	9.1	4.1	4.55	3.9	3.3	5.6
Holborn . . . . .	15.3	11.5	11.0	12.9	13.0	4.9	5.7	5.0	4.4	7.4
Westminster . . . . .	14.5	13.9	10.4	13.2	11.2	4.8	6.1	4.1	4.5	7.4
North Lambeth . . . . .	16.7	12.3	11.0	10.0	10.6	4.2	4.8	4.2	3.0	5.6
Southwark . . . . .	13.6	10.4	9.8	9.4	8.8	4.1	4.4	4.0	3.6	4.9
Fulham . . . . .	16.0	12.4	12.4	9.1	10.5	4.4	4.4	4.0	3.0	5.1
Hammer-smith . . . . .	18.2	13.2	14.9	9.4	10.9	4.4	4.6	5.2	2.9	5.6
Islington . . . . .	16.7	12.3	11.2	10.3	10.55	4.3	5.1	4.1	3.1	5.4
St. Pancras . . . . .	16.5	12.0	14.2	9.4	11.9	4.5	5.2	4.8	3.0	5.9
Chelsea . . . . .	18.5	11.4	8.7	8.8	8.3	4.3	4.7	3.5	2.7	4.9
Hampstead . . . . .	23.05	16.2	17.5	13.3	14.0	5.5	6.0	6.0	3.6	6.9
Kennington . . . . .	16.6	10.1	9.9	11.4	9.8	4.2	4.3	4.2	3.6	5.1
Paddington . . . . .	15.5	12.3	12.8	8.7	12.1	3.6	5.4	4.5	2.9	6.5
St. Marylebone . . . . .	20.7	10.9	12.2	11.6	7.3	4.8	5.2	4.7	3.4	4.8
Battersea . . . . .	14.2	10.1	12.2	8.9	9.6	3.7	3.7	4.8	2.85	4.5
Camden . . . . .	16.7	11.7	10.0	9.4	10.4	4.0	4.3	3.8	2.9	4.9
South Lambeth . . . . .	19.1	15.8	26.8	9.8	13.9	4.7	5.2	5.6	2.9	5.6
Wandsworth . . . . .	15.6	12.0	15.1	7.5	10.9	4.0	4.25	5.05	2.6	5.0
Acton . . . . .	17.5	12.9	16.6	8.7	12.5	4.1	4.5	4.8	2.9	5.6
Hammersley . . . . .	16.4	15.6	10.8	12.8	15.2	3.8	5.1	3.8	3.6	5.9
Willesden . . . . .	23.0	15.1	16.9	11.2	13.8	5.1	5.1	5.1	3.4	6.2

<sup>1</sup> Excluding negative net rents. Owned and free houses are excluded.

In some cases the number in the sample is so small that the entries must be considered only as approximate, and in all cases the digit in the decimal place is uncertain.

the average being over 6*s.* in these cases; the averages are highest in Holborn and Westminster (7*·*4*s.*) and lowest in Battersea (4*·*5*s.*). Divided houses are dearest per room (over 5*·*5*s.*) in Holborn, Westminster and Hampstead, and cheapest in Battersea. For separate houses the range is smaller (from 5*·*5*s.* in Hampstead to 3*·*6*s.* in Paddington). In the Eastern Area, on the other hand, the average per room for divided houses was highest in Stepney (4*·*3*s.*) and lowest in Barking (2*·*6*s.*). In each of the nine boroughs—Barking, Bermondsey, Poplar, Greenwich, Woolwich, East Ham, Leyton, Tottenham and West Ham—the average rent per room in divided houses was less than 3*·*6*s.* (Vol. III, p. 54).

Table XI (the companion to Vol. III, Table X, p. 57) shows the relation of average rent to average full-time family income. For all incomes taken together the rent is nearly the same proportion of income in the Western Area (16 per cent.) as in the Eastern (14 per cent.), and in the separate grades of income the proportion is always a little greater in the West. Total rent rises with income, but very slowly, and the percentage of rent to income falls regularly as income increases. Within the Western Area the percentages of all rents to incomes are nearly the same in the five districts distinguished, but it is a little higher in the External Boroughs.

These averages have their use, but they conceal very great variations, as do the Tables relating to average rent, and they do not show the stress of rent on small incomes. To remedy this defect a supplementary analysis has been made for the Eastern and Western Survey Areas in wide grades of income and of rent.<sup>1</sup>

The first part of Table XII gives a general conspectus of income and rent. Attention is called to the entry where the income is under 52*s.* 6*d.* and the rent as much as 20*s.*, that is rent is 38 per cent. or more of income.

<sup>1</sup> Since families where the house is owned or free or where the rent is negative are excluded, as are all cases where either rent or income is not adequately known, the proportions here shown are not identical with those in other tables.

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TABLE XI

RENT IN RELATION TO INCOME.

Weekly Incomes of Working-Class Family when all Earners work Full Time.

Range of Income.	Average Rent.			Rent as Percentage of Income.		
	Western Survey Area.	Eastern Survey Area.	Whole Survey Area.	Western Survey Area.	Eastern Survey Area.	Whole Survey Area.
Up to 34s. . . . .	5.	8	5.	—	—	—
34s. 1d. to 37s. 6d. . . . .	7·2	6·5	6·9	—	—	—
37s. 7d. " 42s. 6d. . . . .	9·2	7·6	8·5	26	21	24
42s. 7d. " 47s. 6d. . . . .	10·7	9·4	10·1	27	23	25
47s. 7d. " 52s. 6d. . . . .	10·9	9·0	10·0	24	20	22
52s. 7d. " 57s. 6d. . . . .	10·7	9·7	10·3	21	19	21
57s. 7d. " 62s. 6d. . . . .	10·6	9·8	10·2	19	18	19
62s. 7d. " 67s. 6d. . . . .	11·8	10·5	11·2	20	17	19
67s. 7d. " 72s. 6d. . . . .	12·4	10·9	11·7	19	17	18
72s. 7d. " 77s. 6d. . . . .	13·0	11·7	12·4	19	17	18
77s. 7d. " 82s. 6d. . . . .	13·2	11·5	12·4	18	15	17
82s. 7d. " 87s. 6d. . . . .	14·1	12·6	13·4	18	16	17
87s. 7d. " 92s. 6d. . . . .	13·3	12·2	12·8	16	14	15
92s. 7d. " 97s. 6d. . . . .	14·1	12·4	13·3	16	14	15
97s. 7d. " 102s. 6d. . . . .	14·4	12·9	13·7	15	14	14
102s. 7d. " 112s. 6d. . . . .	14·2	12·7	13·5	14	13	14
112s. 7d. " 122s. 6d. . . . .	14·4	12·5	13·6	13	12	13
122s. 7d. " 132s. 6d. . . . .	14·1	12·9	13·6	12	11	12
132s. 7d. " 142s. 6d. . . . .	14·2	12·7	13·5	11	10	11
142s. 7d. " 152s. 6d. . . . .	14·1	12·7	13·5	10	9	10
152s. 7d. " 162s. 6d. . . . .	15·1	13·3	14·3	10	9	10
162s. 7d. " 172s. 6d. . . . .	14·7	12·8	13·8	9	8	9
172s. 7d. " 182s. 6d. . . . .	15·6	13·0	14·4	9	8	9
182s. 7d. " 192s. 6d. . . . .	14·4	14·3	14·4	8	8	8
192s. 7d. " 202s. 6d. . . . .	16·4	14·1	15·4	9	7½	8
202s. 7d. and over . . . . .	15·6	15·0	15·3	8	7½	8
	17·6	15·8	16·8	—	—	—

## GENERAL AVERAGES.

District	Income.	Rent.	Rent as Percentage of Income
Western Survey Area:	5.	5.	
Inner North . . . . .	72	11·4	16
Inner South . . . . .	75	11·2	15
Outer North, Group I. . . . .	77	12·1	16
Outer North, Group II . . . . .	70	11·8	17
Outer South . . . . .	79½	12·7	16
External . . . . .	83½	15·4	18
WESTERN SURVEY AREA . . . . .	76½	12·4	16
EASTERN SURVEY AREA . . . . .	80	11·2	14
WHOLE SURVEY AREA . . . . .	78	11·9	15

The figures in the decimal places are only approximate.

Families owning their houses, living rent-free, and those receiving more rent from sub-tenants than they pay are excluded.

(There may also be a very small number of cases where this proportion is reached in higher incomes.) This entry is 2 per 1,000, or about 700 to 800 actual tenements in the Eastern Area, and about 6 per 1,000 or about 3,000 actual houses in the Western Area.

TABLE XII

RELATION OF RENT TO FULL-TIME FAMILY INCOME.

A.—Per 1,000 Working-Class Families.

Weekly Income	Rent					Total
	Under 5s	5s to 10s	10s to 15s	15s to 20s	20s and over	
<i>Eastern Survey Area.</i>						
Under 52s. 6d. . . . .	53	104	46	8	2	213
52s. 6d. to 72s. 6d. . . .	16	136	112	46	11	321
72s. 6d. to 92s. 6d. . . .	6	58	74	47	15	200
92s. 6d. and over . . . .	4	67	110	59	26	266
Total . . . . .	79	365	342	160	54	1,000
<i>Western Survey Area.</i>						
Under 52s. 6d. . . . .	15	98	57	16	6	212
52s. 6d. to 72s. 6d. . . .	11	112	130	60	28	341
72s. 6d. to 92s. 6d. . . .	4	46	77	45	32	204
92s. 6d. and over . . . .	5	45	95	53	45	243
Total . . . . .	55	301	359	174	111	1,000

B.—Per 1,000 Working-Class Families in Each Income Grade.

<i>Eastern Survey Area.</i>						
Under 52s. 6d. . . . .	250	487	217	38	8	1,000
52s. 6d. to 72s. 6d. . . .	50	424	349	144	33	1,000
72s. 6d. to 92s. 6d. . . .	32	290	371	235	72	1,000
92s. 6d. and over . . . .	13	251	414	223	99	1,000
<i>Western Survey Area.</i>						
Under 52s. 6d. . . . .	168	463	271	72	26	1,000
52s. 6d. to 72s. 6d. . . .	32	328	380	177	83	1,000
72s. 6d. to 92s. 6d. . . .	18	225	380	222	155	1,000
92s. 6d. and over . . . .	19	185	390	219	187	1,000

All families are included that pay rent and for whom the income and rent returns are adequate.

TABLE XII (continued)  
C.—Per 1,000 Working-Class Families—Detail by Districts.

Weekly Income	Eastern Survey Districts										Western Survey Districts									
	Rent					Total	Rent					Total								
	Under 5s	5s to 10s	10s to 15s	15s to 20s	20s and over		Under 5s	5s to 10s	10s to 15s	15s to 20s	20s and over									
Under 52s 6d.	63	118	37	7	1	36	42	137	73	7	3	262								
52s 6d-72s 5d	18	151	97	18	9	295	9	125	157	47	17	355								
72s 6d-92s 5d	8	72	73	18	7	274	3	48	69	35	27	194								
92s 6d or more	3	88	122	46	32	271	2	44	87	29	59	131								
Total	92	441	329	86	49	1,000	50	364	386	118	76	1,000								
Under 52s 6d.	79	104	33	0	2	116	47	99	55	12	4	217								
52s 6d-72s 5d	28	192	103	22	1	352	13	150	131	48	15	357								
72s 6d-92s 5d	5	71	62	5	3	146	4	57	71	33	15	180								
92s 6d or more	5	98	130	17	14	284	8	53	106	55	24	246								
Total	117	475	334	64	20	1,000	72	377	363	148	58	1,000								
Under 5-5 6d	59	146	64	6	1	56	37	107	56	17	4	223								
52s 6d-72s 5d	14	124	97	15	9	259	11	105	133	40	21	320								
72s 6d-92s 5d	7	54	77	45	14	197	4	41	88	47	24	266								
92s 6d or more	5	53	108	54	40	260	4	46	90	53	47	231								
Total	85	340	346	144	68	1,000	55	301	378	167	96	1,000								
Under 52s 6d	46	92	52	12	1	103	45	141	78	23	9	296								
52s 6d-72s 5d	15	122	138	68	10	373	9	116	144	50	9	324								
72s 6d-92s 5d	7	43	67	93	16	226	4	48	74	49	25	179								
92s 6d or more	2	30	72	64	11	179	2	44	82	34	39	201								
Total	70	296	321	57	48	1,000	59	349	348	142	102	1,000								
Under 52s 6d	43	84	41	3	3	180	16	56	52	23	10	157								
52s 6d-72s 5d	11	134	113	48	5	312	5	42	117	94	76	334								
72s 6d-92s 5d	5	59	86	45	18	207	1	18	80	70	23	243								
92s 6d or more	2	74	124	69	20	291	0	26	93	71	27	267								
Total	66	349	358	171	56	1,000	22	142	342	236	336	1,000								

The lower part of the Table shows the proportion in each grade of rent falling within each income group. Thus among the lowest incomes about 8 per 1,000 in the Eastern Area and 26 per 1,000 (about 1 in 40) in the Western pay 20s. or more in rent.

There is very considerable variation in this respect between the boroughs, but space only allows the exhibition of the figures for boroughs grouped in districts. The higher rents are more prevalent throughout the West than the East, though the general distribution both of incomes and of rents, and of rents in relation to incomes, is similar in all districts.

In the particular group of low incomes (under 52s. 6d.) and high rents (20s. or more) the proportion is always small, but it reaches 1 per cent. of all working-class rents in the Western External Boroughs, where rents are high, and is over 1 per cent. in Acton, Willesden, Hampstead, Holborn, Paddington and South Lambeth.

These Tables of course give no indication of the type of house corresponding to any rental. The high rents in general are for large houses, but there are cases where they are paid even for one room.

## 2. OVERCROWDING

In this section the data for Overcrowding in the Western Survey Area, derived from the House Sample Inquiry, are tabulated together with some material provided from the Population Census of 1931. It should be read in conjunction with Volume III, Chapter XI, and Volume I, Chapter V, and with reference to Volume IV, Map 7.

The Tables (pp. 62-6) follow the same plan as those in Volume III, pp. 226-32 and 246-50.

Table XIII (p. 62) gives a general conspectus of the relationship between the size of family and number of rooms in working-class tenements in the Western Survey Area, with summaries for districts and comparison with the Eastern Survey Area. As already



mentioned, the number of rooms per tenement is generally lower in the West, one, two and three rooms being more common, and larger tenements rarer. In the Inner Northern Boroughs two-roomed tenements form 388 per 1,000 of all, and in the Outer North II, which includes St. Marylebone and Kensington among others, 325 per 1,000. Interesting results can be found by comparing the distribution in the districts of the East (Volume III, p. 246) and the West.

The average number of rooms per tenement is shown in the table below. The average family is also smaller in the West than in the East, with the result that the number of persons per room is practically the same in both areas. In the East (Volume III, p. 227) a regular sequence was found in increasing size of tenement as one proceeded from Inner to Outer Boroughs; in the West the sequence is broken by Outer North II, but there is a regular diminution in the number of persons per room in the last column of the table. This is further developed below where the average in each borough is given. If these, together with the corresponding figures for the Eastern Area, are entered on a map a regular distribution is seen corresponding with the colours on Map 7 in Volume IV.

WORKING-CLASS HOUSEHOLDS

District.	Persons per Tenement.	Rooms per Tenement.	Persons per Room.
<i>Western Survey Area.</i>			
Inner North . . .	3·16	2·44	1·30
South . . .	3·42	2·70	1·26
Outer North, Group I .	3·35	2·75	1·22
Group II .	3·08	2·56	1·21
South . . .	3·36	3·20	1·05
External . . .	3·57	3·45	1·03
WESTERN SURVEY AREA .	3·33	2·89	1·15
EASTERN SURVEY AREA .	3·69	3·17	1·16
WHOLE SURVEY AREA .	3·50	3·02	1·15

Averages above 1.25 are found in a string of boroughs from West Ham along the river to the City, and then away from the river through St. Marylebone to the small working-class districts in Kensington and Chelsea. The other western riverside boroughs have low averages, and generally the farther from the centre the lower the average.

NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM IN WORKING-CLASS TENEMENTS.

Finsbury . .	1.48	St. Pancras . .	1.26	Hampstead . .	1.08
St. Marylebone	1.37	North Lambeth	1.18	Willesden . .	1.08
Holborn . .	1.35	Hammersmith.	1.14	Paddington . .	1.06
Southwark. .	1.32	Fulham . .	1.14	Wandsworth . .	1.04
Kensington . .	1.30	Westminster .	1.12	Acton . .	1.00
Islington . .	1.27	Battersea . .	1.11	Hornsey . .	0.95
Chelsea . .	1.27	Camberwell . .	1.09	South Lambeth	0.93

Table XIII shows great variation in the accommodation for families of the same size, and this cannot readily be summarised. But it is interesting to note that, as in the East, the average number of rooms increases with the size of family, but the rooms per person diminish.

Size of family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more
WESTERN AREA.							
Average number of rooms.	1.6	2.6	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.7	3.9
Rooms per person . .	1.6	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5
EASTERN AREA.							
Rooms per person . .	1.6	1.4	1.1	0.85	0.7	0.65	0.5

Comparison of the last two lines might suggest that overcrowding may be more prevalent in the West as a whole than in the East; but in fact there are relatively fewer large families in the West and the last lines in Table XIV (p. 63) show that the distributions by persons per room are almost identical in the two areas.

In this Table (XIV) various grades of crowding or overcrowding are distinguished. Thus if we consider more than one person a room as constituting crowding, we find that in Finsbury 55 per cent. of the families and 73 per cent. of the persons were "crowded"; of this 73

per cent. 26 were in the group "between 1 and 2 persons per room," 14 per cent. exactly 2 persons per room (2 persons to 1 room, 4 persons to 2 rooms, etc.) and 33 per cent. (13 + 20) were "overcrowded" on the test of more than 2 persons per room.

On every test from this Table Finsbury is the most crowded borough. The order of overcrowding, based on the criterion of two or more persons per room, is very nearly the same as in the list above of average number of persons per room, the main exception being Paddington, which comes higher on the overcrowding test. Naturally the percentage of persons (25 in the Western Survey Area) overcrowded is greater than the percentage of families (18).

The Table may also be compared with that of acute overcrowding (more than 3 to a room) in Volume III, pp. 251-2. In the Western Area as a whole this percentage was 3.2 in 1931, equivalent to about 4 per cent. of the working-class population; in Table XIV 8 per cent. of the persons live 3 or more to a room, of whom about 3 per cent. were exactly at 3 to a room and about 5 per cent. more than 3.

A more detailed comparison can be made with the results of the Population Census of 1931. The Census of course includes all private families, while the figures under discussion relate only to working-class families. Comparison is made below by taking the rough estimates of proportions of persons in middle-class families to working-class (discussed in Volume III, Chapter I, and this Volume, Chapter I) and assuming that in no middle-class households were there more than 2 persons per room. The slight difference in the figures for exactly 2 per room may be due to some families counted as middle-class coming in this category or to differences of definition of a room.

The second table on p. 58 shows a similar comparison for each borough in the Survey Area. The agreement is close, except for some of the predominantly middle-class boroughs, Greenwich, Lewisham, Leyton, Westminster,

## COUNTY OF LONDON.

	Persons. 000's. <sup>1</sup>	Per cent. (all).	Per cent. (Excluding middle class). <sup>2</sup>	Persons in Working-class Households (Sample 1929 to 1931).
Living:				
3 or more per room	276	6.7	9½	9½
Over 2 and under 3				
per room . . .	265	6.4	9	
2 per room . . .	375	9.1	12½	10½
Under 2 . . .	3,207	77.8	69	72
	<u>4,123</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

<sup>1</sup> Computed from 1931 Census.

<sup>2</sup> 28 per cent. are assumed to be middle class, and subtracted from the 3,207,000 under 2 per room and from the total. The resulting column is then expressed in percentages of the new total.

## COMPARISON OF SAMPLE WITH CENSUS OF 1931.

Percentages of persons overcrowded (2 or more persons per room).

Eastern Survey Area	Census.		Sample. (Work- ing Class)	Western Survey Area	Census		Sample. (Work- ing Class.)
	All	Exclud- ing Middle Class <sup>1</sup>			All	Exclud- ing Middle Class <sup>1</sup>	
Bethnal Green . . .	37	40	43	Finsbury . . .	45	51	47
Shoreditch . . .	45	48	47	Holborn . . .	31	40	40
Stepney . . .	37	43	40	Westminster . . .	16	28	22
Bermondsey . . .	34	38	33	Lambeth . . .	19	26	16
Hackney . . .	17	24	21	Southwark . . .	35	38	35
Poplar . . .	34	35	32	Fulham . . .	19	26	21
Stoke Newington . .	13	20	13	Hammersmith . .	19	26	22
Deptford . . .	19	23	22	Islington . . .	27	35	34
Greenwich . . .	18	22	30	St Pancras . . .	30	37	33
Lewisham . . .	8	15	6	Chelsea . . .	20	42	33
Woolwich . . .	11	14	13	Hampstead . . .	9	26	19
Barking . . .	12	15	15	Kensington . . .	22	46	38
East Ham . . .	11	14	14	Paddington . . .	22	35	27
Leyton . . .	10	14	8	St Marylebone . .	23	43	42
Tottenham . . .	14	21	17	Battersea . . .	20	26	21
Walthamstow . . .	10	14	9	Camberwell . . .	18	23	21
West Ham . . .	27	31	32	Wandsworth . . .	10	18	15
				Acton . . .	13	20	19
				Hornsey . . .	5	14	9
				Willesden . . .	15	22	20
<b>EASTERN AREA . . .</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>WESTERN AREA . .</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>25</b>

<sup>1</sup> To exclude the Middle Class from the Census Returns, it is assumed that none of the Middle Class is overcrowded on this standard, and the percentages for all persons are multiplied according to the proportions belonging to the Middle Class in each borough shown in Table VII, p. 44.

Hampstead, Lambeth,<sup>1</sup> Chelsea, Kensington, and in Paddington, where the house sample was in some respects imperfect. In most of these boroughs overcrowding is not severe and the numbers found in the sample were too small for precise estimate.

In the statistics so far given there is no distinction among persons by sex or age, nor among rooms. As in the Eastern Survey further tabulations have been made on the standard of the Manchester Public Health Committee, viz. that the sexes should be separated above the age of 10 (except for married couples), and there must not be more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  persons per bedroom counting children under 10 as  $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>2</sup>

The test was applied in three ways : (a) counting as bedrooms those rooms which are structurally arranged for that purpose—"Bedrooms Provided"; (b) counting as bedrooms all rooms so used, even if there was no remaining room—"Actually Overcrowded"; (c) counting as bedrooms all rooms except one in the tenement, however they were devised or used—"Necessarily Overcrowded." In each case a one-roomed tenement was considered to be a bedroom.

The results are given in Table XV (p. 64). Here for example in the Western Survey Area there were 200 (per 1,000) four-roomed tenements, in 184 of which 2 bedrooms were provided. In 15 cases there were 3 bedrooms and in one case 1 only. Where there was one bedroom, only one was needed by the standard adopted. Where there were two bedrooms, three were needed in 42 cases and four or more in 3 cases. Where there were three bedrooms, four or more were needed in 2 cases. Hence on the (a) test  $42 + 3 + 2 = 47$  tenements were overcrowded. In fact, however, the number is reduced by test (b) to 39, since some of the sitting-rooms were used as bedrooms. It would have been further reduced by test (c) to 5, if only one room had been reserved for sitting-room and kitchen, for then three rooms would

<sup>1</sup> South Lambeth has a large middle-class population.

<sup>2</sup> See Volume III, p. 420.

have been available for sleeping, and only the 5 families who needed more than three would have been overcrowded on this test. (c) gives a higher number than (b) for two-roomed tenements, since in many cases both rooms were used for sleeping.

The (c) test in fact gives for tenements of all sizes in each borough very nearly the same numbers as the test of 2 or more persons, both as applied to families and applied to persons (Table XVI, p. 65).

In Tables XVI and XVII the details are shown for each borough, first for families and then for persons. The order of the boroughs according to severity of overcrowding is nearly the same by all the tests given; but for the lack of bedrooms provided Holborn has the first place instead of Finsbury, while for "actual" overcrowding Southwark is highest, followed by Holborn and St. Marylebone.

In Table XVI, final column, a test of crowding is worked out, on the basis of one equivalent adult per room.<sup>1</sup>

The results for the Western and Eastern Survey Areas respectively are very similar in general order, but vary in the detail of Table XV. In the West a greater proportion of overcrowding is attributable to 2- and 3-roomed tenements, but this is principally because the relative number of all such tenements is greater.

When analysis is made by sex and age it is found that on each of the bedrooms tests the proportion of children that are in overcrowded houses is greater than that of adults, and more so in the Western than in the Eastern Area. This does not of course mean that within any given household the children have to endure more overcrowding than the adults, but that the type of family living most frequently under overcrowded conditions is one which includes children.

Thus 37 per cent. of working-class children in the Western Survey Areas live in tenements that would be overcrowded on the Manchester Standard, if only one

<sup>1</sup> See Volume III, p. 232. Males over 18 and females over 16 counted as units; other girls and boys over 14 as  $\frac{2}{3}$ , children aged 5-14 as  $\frac{1}{2}$ , under 5 as  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

room was kept free from sleeping. Actually more than one room is kept free in many cases, possibly because the Manchester Standard is stricter than is habitual, and 49 per cent. are actually overcrowded.

PERCENTAGE OF ALL PERSONS IN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES OF EACH AGE OR SEX GROUP LIVING IN OVERCROWDED TENEMENTS.

*Western Survey Area.*

	Deficiency of Bedrooms Provided.	Actual Overcrowding.	Necessary Overcrowding.
Males over 14 years .	35	29	20
Females over 14 years	35	28	20
Children 5-14 . . . 59		50	38
„ 3-5 . . . 54		48	40
„ 0-3 . . . 49		44	34
All children . . .	57	49	37
All Persons . . .	41	34	25

*Eastern Survey Area.<sup>1</sup>*

All Children . . .	50	42½	33
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The figures for the boroughs which are worst in this respect are as follows:

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS LIVING IN OVERCROWDED TENEMENTS.

*Working-class only.*

	Deficiency of Bedrooms Provided.	Actual Overcrowding.	Necessary Overcrowding.
Holborn . . .	76	68	64
Southwark . . .	75	73	53
Fulham . . .	68	45	29
Finsbury . . .	67	53	63
St. Marylebone . . .	65	65	54
Kensington . . .	65	43	47
St. Pancras . . .	63	55	50

Actual overcrowding of children is relatively greater in Holborn, St. Marylebone and Southwark than in any of the Eastern boroughs tabulated in Volume III, p. 232.

All these percentages relate only to working-class families. Some of the corresponding numbers for all families are given on p. 58 above.

<sup>1</sup> Volume III, p. 231.

TABLE XIII  
NUMBER OF ROOMS IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF PERSONS IN  
WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES  
Per 1,000 Families

	No of Per sons	Western Survey Area							Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
		Number of Rooms									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more			
	1	68	31	17	7	—	—	118	93	107	
	2	31	90	113	30	7	1	—	271	245	
	3	13	58	83	56	11	—	25	231	228	
	4	8	35	58	46	16	2	—	168	174	
	5	5	19	32	29	23	3	—	120	106	
	6	1	10	16	17	10	2	1	51	65	
	7 or more	1	9	16	18	14	4	1	6	75	
Inner North	All	177	388	293	100	29	4	—	1 000	—	
South		151	305	226	192	51	3	—	1 000	—	
Outer North		153	280	321	179	53	12	—	1 000	—	
(Group I)											
North		190	325	291	139	40	12	3	1 000		
(Group II)											
South		170	365	260	99	14	3	—	1 000		
External Boroughs		46	136	370	257	142	41	6	1 000	—	
WESTERN SURVEY AREA	All	125	252	335	200	71	14	3	1 000	—	
EASTERN SURVEY AREA	All	110	193	289	264	120	21	3	—	1 000	
WHOLE SURVEY AREA	All	118	226	314	220	93	17	3	—	1 000	

Furnished rooms are included in this Table



TABLE XIV  
CROWDING AND OVERCROWDING.  
*Working-Class Families, Western Survey Area.*

Boroughs	Per 100 Families						Per 100 Persons					
	Persons per Room						Persons per Room					
	Less than 1	1	Between 1 and 2	2	Between 2 and 3	3 or more	Less than 1	1	Between 1 and 2	2	Between 2 and 3	3 or more
<b>INNER</b>												
<i>North</i>												
Finsbury	15	30	22	13	8	12	9	18	26	14	13	20
Holborn	10	34	20	14	4	9	10	22	28	17	8	15
Westminster	28	37	21	9	1	2	18	27	32	12	6	4
	22	34	21	11	5	7	13	22	29	13	10	13
<i>South</i>												
North Lambeth	25	32	22	12	4	5	17	24	31	11	8	8
Southwark	20	31	26	10	6	7	12	20	33	12	11	12
	22	32	24	11	5	6	14	22	32	12	10	10
<b>OUTER</b>												
<i>North, Group I</i>												
Fulham	30	31	26	7	3	3	10	21	26	11	6	4
Hammersmith	20	29	26	9	3	4	20	22	36	11	5	6
Islington	21	31	25	11	4	8	14	22	32	12	8	12
St Pancras	22	34	22	17	4	7	14	23	30	12	8	12
	24	31	25	10	4	6	10	23	33	12	7	10
<i>North, Group II</i>												
Chelsea	21	31	25	10	6	7	14	20	33	14	9	10
Hampstead	9	33	21	10	2	3	21	25	36	11	3	5
Kensington	21	31	22	13	6	7	13	22	28	15	17	12
Paddington	31	30	14	10	1	4	25	26	23	11	6	9
St Marylebone	17	34	17	15	5	10	11	21	25	15	12	10
	20	33	19	12	4	6	17	23	27	13	9	11
<i>South</i>												
Battersea	33	28	23	7	2	5	23	23	32	9	4	9
Camberwell	36	28	21	7	3	1	21	22	33	9	8	4
South Lambeth	46	31	20	-	-	1	35	30	32	1	1	1
Wandsworth	19	26	25	6	2	2	27	22	35	8	3	4
	33	28	23	6	2	3	26	24	33	7	4	5
<i>Total Western Sector</i>	28	31	23	9	4	5	19	23	32	11	7	8
<b>EXTERNAL BOROUGH</b>												
Acton	43	23	22	6	3	3	31	20	30	7	7	4
Hornsey	46	29	19	3	1	1	33	28	30	4	5	1
Willesden	35	28	24	7	3	4	25	25	31	10	5	5
	39	27	22	6	3	3	28	24	30	8	5	4
<b>WESTERN SURVEY AREA</b>												
	29	30	23	9	4	5	20	23	32	10	7	8
<b>EASTERN SURVEY AREA</b>												
	29	29	25	8	4	5	19	22	33	10	8	8
<b>WHOLE SURVEY AREA</b>												
	29	30	24	9	4	5	20	23	32	10	7	8



TABLE XVI  
OVERCROWDING AND CROWDING  
*Working-Class Families, Western Survey Area*  
Per 100 Families

	Overcrowded Bedroom Standards <sup>1</sup>				Crowded
	Definition of Bedrooms Provided (a)	Total (b)	Necessary (c)	2 or More Persons per Room	More than One Equivalent Adult <sup>2</sup> per Room
<i>North</i>					
Finsbury	38	27	34	34	5
Holborn	40	35	30	21	44
Westminster	1	12	14	14	2
	30	4	5	24	41
<i>South</i>					
North Lambeth	30		18	20	37
Southwark	38	37	4	3	44
	35			2	41
(1118)					
<i>North Group I</i>					
Fulham	5		13	13	33
Hammer Smith		4	5	16	45
Islington	5			5	11
St. Pancras	33		2		32
	3		11	0	18
<i>North Group II</i>					
Chelsea		5	3	4	43
Hampton	4	15	11	15	32
Kensington	4			26	43
Paddington		17	14	17	27
St. Marylebone	31	3	6	30	45
	28	1	20		16
<i>South</i>					
Battersea		3	11	14	30
Camberwell	6	4	11	14	30
South Lambeth	18	1	4	3	15
Wandsworth	8	6	1	10	16
	7		1	11	26
<b>TOTAL WESTERN SECTOR</b>	2	4	17	18	35
<b>EXTERNAL BOROUGHs</b>					
Acton	2		14	12	28
Hornsey	18	16	6	6	16
Wilkesden	20	19	12	13	18
	24	20	12	12	26
<b>WESTERN SURVEY AREA</b>	29	23	17	17	34
<b>EASTERN SURVEY AREA</b>	27	21	16	18	33
<b>WHOLE SURVEY AREA</b>	28	22	16	17	34

<sup>1</sup> See previous Table (XV) for definitions of (a), (b) and (c).

<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this column males over 18 years and females over 16 are counted as units. Girls between 14 and 16 and boys between 14 and 18 as  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a unit. Children aged 5 to 14 as  $\frac{1}{3}$  and children under 5 as  $\frac{1}{4}$ . Thus a family consisting of a father, mother, a girl of 17 and three other children aged 9, 6 and 4 would be reckoned as 4 equivalent adults (see Vol. III p. 232).

TABLE XVII  
OVERCROWDING PER 100 PERSONS LIVING IN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES.  
*Western Survey Area*

Districts	Bedroom Standards <sup>1</sup>			2 or More Persons per Room
	Deficiency of Bedrooms Provided (a)	Actual (b)	'Necessary' (c)	
<b>INNER</b>				
<i>North</i>				
Finsbury	53	40	18	47
Holborn	58	51	14	40
Westminster	32	3-	4	22
	46	38	35	36
<i>South</i>				
North Lambeth	4-	30	1	28
Southwark	54	53	35	35
	10	11	31	32
<b>OUTER</b>				
<i>North—Group I</i>				
Fulham	5	30	11	21
Hammersmith	51	3	26	-
Islington	11	33	3	3-
St Pancras	18	10	1	33
	44	34	25	29
<i>North—Group II</i>				
Chelsea	41	37	30	33
Hampstead	35	-	17	11
Kensington	41	31	3	35
Paddington	37	3	5	7
St Marylebone	48	18	31	42
	43	33	31	33
<i>South</i>				
Battersea	28	34	19	21
Camberwell	17	15	17	21
South Lambeth	25	18	6	4
Wandsworth	11	15	15	15
	36	3-	15	16
<b>TOTAL WESTERN SECTOR</b>	42	35	25	26
<b>EXTERNAL BOROUGHs</b>				
Acton	31	11	22	19
Hornsey	25	21	9	9
Willesden	37	27	18	20
	34	27	17	18
<b>WESTERN SURVEY AREA</b>	11	34	25	25
<b>EASTERN SURVEY AREA</b>	37	30	22	26
<b>WHOLE SURVEY AREA</b>	39	32	24	25

<sup>1</sup> For definitions of (a), (b) and (c), see Table XV (Overcrowding).

## CHAPTER III

### WAGES AND FAMILY INCOME

#### MEN'S WAGES

THE rates of wages in different industries and occupations are stated in the volumes relating to industries, and their general movement since 1886 is described in Volume I. Here we continue the analysis of men's wages as stated on the cards of the House Sample, of which that relating to the Eastern Area was given in Volume III, and deal with women's wages for the Whole Area. The definitions for the tabulation of men's wages were discussed in Volume III, pp. 62 *seq.*

We have statements or estimates of full-time wages for about 20,000 men in the Whole Survey Area, excluding earnings of non-manual workers. There was no sufficient evidence of the amount of earnings in the case of about 6 per cent. of all the men in the House Sample occupied in manual work. In making the tables the numbers were weighted for the boroughs and combined in the usual way.

PER 1,000 MANUAL WORKERS, MEN AGED 20 TO 65.

#### *Whole Survey Area.*

Time rates <sup>1</sup> :	Stated . . . . .	756
	Computed . . . . .	103
Piece rates . . . . .		8
Dockers . . . . .		17
Working on own account . . . . .		58
No sufficient statement . . . . .		58

1,000

<sup>1</sup> That is, rates where there is no record of payments by piece.

No doubt some form of piece payment occurs in many more than 8 per thousand of occupied men, though time-rates are prevalent in most of the industries. The statements of wages are for a full working week and probably include estimates for special payments. But there may be under-statements in a proportion of the cases.

The distribution of the stated time rates in the various Western Districts, and in the aggregates of Western, Eastern and Whole Survey Areas, is shown in Table XVIII,<sup>1</sup> and in the diagram (p. 80) with some approximation in the lowest grade.

The results for the West are singularly close to those for the East. The concentration about 60s. is marked throughout, except that in the Western Inner South District it is replaced by a concentration in the grade below (52s. 6d. to 57s. 6d.). There is a minor concentration also at 80s. In both areas the average in the Inner Boroughs is lower than in the outer.

In the whole area, and in each section, more than half the wages are above 61s., and therefore well over one-half above the wages of purely unskilled labour. More than a tenth of the wages are over £4.

Examination of the statements of wages under 40s. shows that they are mainly those of young men, little over 20 years. Considering the nominal rates shown in Volume I, pp. 136-7, it is surprising that one-tenth of all receive less than about 45s.; some of these are railway porters and others carters or drivers, but it has not been practicable to make a complete analysis. The spreading of wages away from their central and their nominal amounts is a characteristic of the few known general statements that embrace all kinds of labour.

The earnings of those who work on their own account as hawkers or craftsmen or small employers cover a very wide range (Table XVIII); but not much reliance can be placed on the statements.

<sup>1</sup> Detail for the Eastern Districts is given in Volume III, p. 65.

*Comparison with 1893*

Charles Booth collected records of wages and earnings in a great number of occupations, and though he hesitated for various reasons to combine them into a general statement, he says: "Nevertheless, to the general reader there may be some interest in a statement of the facts as to the 75,000 adult male wage-earners for whom we have particulars."<sup>1</sup>

It is a difficult question how far these figures are comparable with those of the new inquiry. Though the number covered is much greater in Booth's statement than in ours, his was not a random sample, but was the result of the assembly of the numbers for which he happened to obtain returns in fifty-five occupational groups. A re-weighting of the groups might modify the results perceptibly. "It is probable," he says, "that the men included are somewhat too favourable a sample of the whole industrial population of London." "The figures do not sufficiently allow for irregularity of employment and loss of time," but this allowance is not made at all in the figures for 1929-30, so that on this account his may be too low in comparison.

His actual statement is:

ADULT MALE WAGE-EARNERS, 1893<sup>2</sup>:

## Receiving

Under 20s.	5
20s. to 25s.	17½
25s. to 30s.	23
30s. to 35s.	22½
35s. to 40s.	15
40s. to 45s.	9
Over 45s.	8

A comparison between the distribution of these money-earnings with those stated in Table XVIII is shown graphically on p. 81, exactly from the data. It is seen that in any line (e.g. NABC which cuts off 50 per cent.

<sup>1</sup> Volume IX, p. 371, 1897 edition.

<sup>2</sup> This date is given in Volume V, p. 28, "Collected mostly in 1893."

of the earners) from the vertical through zero earnings to the curves A, B, C, the middle point of NC is approximately at A. If the line is drawn lower NC is more than twice NA, if higher less than twice.

Between 1893 and 1929 prices of food and other necessities rose about 80 per cent. The line B is obtained by raising the limits 20s, 25s. etc. by 80 per cent. to 36s., 45s., etc.

From the graph the median, quartiles and deciles are obtained by interpolation with the following results:

## WEEKLY WAGES.

Approximate Values of the Average, Median, etc.

	1893. Actual Money.	1893. Raised 80 per cent.	1929
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Lower decile . . .	21 6	38 6	43 6
Lower quartile . . .	25 6	46 0	53 6
Median . . . . .	31 0	55 9	61 6
Upper quartile . . .	37 6	67 3	72 0
Upper decile . . .	44 0	79 0	82 0
Average . . . . .	32 0	57 6	62 8

The average can only be computed very roughly from Booth's data.

Study of these figures or of the diagram shows that the lower wage groups have made relatively more progress than the upper. This agrees with the estimates given in Volume I, pp. 118 and 123, viz.:

## WEEKLY WAGES.

	1894. <sup>1</sup>	1928. <sup>2</sup>	Real Wages.
Unskilled . . . . .	100	228	121
Skilled . . . . .	100	204	108

<sup>1</sup> Lower decile — one-tenth of all below the sum stated.

Lower quartile — one-quarter " " " " "

Median — one-half " " " " "

Upper quartile — one-quarter " above " " "

Upper decile — one-tenth " " " " "

<sup>2</sup> There was no important change of money wages between 1893 and 1894 or between 1928 and 1929. Prices fell a little in 1929, so that the figures for real wages would be about 123 and 110.



The figures under discussion would give an increase of only about 95 to 100 per cent. as the rise in average money wages. The two sets of estimates are not however strictly comparable. The comparisons in Volume I were intended to apply to wages for similar kinds of work, while those arising from Charles Booth's figures and the House Sample are a general account irrespective of the nature of the occupation, and in the intervening years there have been very great changes in the proportions in different industries, and some industries have nearly disappeared while others have taken their place. We should therefore not expect the average changes to coincide. But it is quite possible from the data themselves that a greater rise occurred than the averages indicate; thus from Booth's own statement it appears that his figures gave too favourable a view, so that allowing for the roughness of the data the average in 1893 may have been as low as, say 30s. On the other hand, if we omit the young men earning less than full wages in 1929, say those under 34s., the later average would be nearly 64s. That is, the data are not necessarily inconsistent with an increase in money wages of definitely more than 100 per cent. as suggested in Volume I.

Though the exact amount of change in the average is uncertain, the figures as they stand give a valuable indication of the change in the distribution of the wages for regular manual labour.

It must be remembered for many comparisons that the normal working week has been considerably shortened since 1893 and that the hourly rates have therefore increased more than the weekly rates.

#### WAGES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES

From the House Sample cards we have tabulated the wages of about 9,000 single women and girls and 2,000 married women. From the process of sampling these rather small numbers enable us to estimate with reasonable precision the distribution by age and by classes of

occupation and the average wages at each age, and the distribution of numbers at each age in fairly narrow wage grades (see note on p. 77). The inquiry is limited to working-class families and therefore excludes nearly all the higher grades of non-manual occupations; this exclusion has a considerable effect on the averages, especially those relating to the higher age groups. Information was insufficient for tabulation in about 10 per cent. of the cases, but there seems to be no reason to think that this introduces any bias, since the refusals and the inadequacies of statement were sporadic.

Table XIX shows the distribution by class of occupation, age, etc., as a guide to the tables of wages.

It was not found practicable, from the nature of the information and the smallness of the numbers to make any fine classification by occupations. The wages in specific occupations are best studied in the accounts of industries, Volumes II and V. Domestic service and waitresses were separated, both because the work is distinctive and there is uncertainty about the value of food and tips and perquisites generally. Other occupations were divided into two groups, the factory type and the clerical type.<sup>1</sup> In the first were included all workers in factories or workshops, all dressmakers and laundry workers. The second group contains shop assistants, typists, clerks, telephone girls, teachers, actresses and nurses, but only those belonging to and living in working-class families. The number that did not fall readily into one or the other of these broad groups was small. The domestic class includes charwomen, all day domestic servants, housekeepers, caretakers and cooks in restaurants.

In the *factory* group (Table XX) the wage beginning at about 10s. for entrants at 14 years rises rapidly till the age 20. The average for girls aged 16 to 18 is about 18s. 6d., for those aged 18 to 20 about 25s. 6d.; after 20 the annual average increase per year of age is slower,

<sup>1</sup> In the account above of men's wages the salaries of clerks, etc., were excluded. They will form the subject of a special account in a subsequent volume.

and the figures indicate a lower average after the age 50, but the number included is too small to make this certain.

The wages of girls and unmarried women are rather closely concentrated ; between 15s. and 20s. for those aged 16 to 18, between 20s. and 30s. for those between 18 and 20 years, and between 25s. and 35s. for single and for married women over 20 years. The quartiles at the bottom of Table XX show the limits more precisely.

The general average for adults, 33s. 6d., is rather more than one-half of that for men, viz. 63s. (p. 79). With women there is no concentration about the rate of wages for skilled work, but the numbers fall continuously (see diagram, p. 80).

The age distribution of the *clerical* group is seen in Table XXI to differ from that of the factory group. Girls stay longer at school, so that the percentage under 16 years is much smaller. The proportions at the ages above 20 are correspondingly higher, but the falling off at the higher ages is parallel in the two groups.

The average wages at each age group (Table XXI) are higher than in factories,<sup>1</sup> the excess growing from 2s. 6d. under 20 years to 6s. 6d. at 20 to 25, and 10s. 6d. for 25 to 40. The general average both for single women over 20 years and for married women is about 42s., or 8s. more than in the factory group. This is just over half of the typical wage for skilled men, viz. 80s. It is noticeable however that a considerable proportion of the relatively small numbers aged 30 to 50 years command relatively high wages, a third of these receiving over 60s.

No doubt if women workers from middle-class families were included, the table would be modified materially, especially at the higher ages. It is *very important* that these figures should not be quoted as applying to educated women generally. Even for women whose fathers are manual workers, the figures are not typical since some of

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that many women and girls in this group pay more in travelling and for meals out than those in factories, etc., since many of them work in offices in the centre of London.

them may have left their homes as age and earnings increased and be included in middle-class households. The importance of the figures lies in the contribution of partly or fully educated girls and women to the economy of working-class houses. Actually the number of single women and girls included in this table is about 10 per cent. of the number of houses in the whole sample. In several cases there are two or more daughters in clerical occupations in one family.

From Table XXII, under "domestic servants," are excluded those who worked less than 20 hours a week (about 23 per cent. of the married, and 6 per cent. of the single). Hours that constitute a full week are difficult to define, both for office cleaners and day servants. Among single women these occupations only absorb a small proportion of all, and very few are under 20 years old. For married women and widows, on the other hand, the group accounts for more than half of all occupied. Some of the wages stated for day servants are very low; but though allowance has been made for the value of meals (at the cost of the minimum standard) as far as possible, it is not at all certain that all perquisites of this kind have been included. Office cleaners, who form a considerable part of the group, do not normally receive food; a commonly stated wage in central London was 29s. The average of all adults in the group is 27s. to 27s. 6d., an amount markedly below that for factory work.

The real earnings of waitresses are not easily determined, and the table, depending on only a small number of returns, has no great precision.

A small number of piece workers, where no definite average could be estimated, are excluded from Tables XIX to XXIII. Among them there are a certain number of dressmakers working at home for large firms.

The occupations of women working on their own account are various, but small shops account for many of them.

In Table XXIII are assembled the results of the three

previous tables for fully occupied women over 20 years living in working-class families, and the results are exhibited in the diagrams on p. 80. The general average is 33*s.* 6*d.* One-tenth of the single women received less than 23*s.*, one-tenth more than 51*s.* The central half—that between the quartiles—range from 27*s.* to 40*s.* 6*d.* for single women, and between 23*s.* and 35*s.* for married.

## FAMILY INCOME

Incomes in the Western Area as a whole differ so little from those in the Eastern that there is little to add to the remarks on the subject in Volume III, pp. 66–9. The details are shown in Table XXIV. Here incomes of working-class families of all constitutions are merged, and the table should be used in conjunction with that in Chapter IV where the relation of incomes to needs is analysed.

The influence of wages at 60*s.* and again at 80*s.*, which were found to be prevalent in Table XVIII, is still marked by breaks in continuity here.

The average family income of all working-class households in London, when all earners are credited with full-time earnings is estimated at 78*s.* weekly with a margin of 2*s.* up or down.<sup>1</sup>

From Table XXXI it may be computed that the loss in average income in the special week of investigation from unemployment and illness is about 3*s.* 6*d.*, so that the average annual income, computed as in Volume III,

<sup>1</sup> By the help of the wage tables and Table V on p. 42 (the average family) we can make this up roughly as follows:

## AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME.

	No per Family.	Average.	Income.
		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Men, over 20 years . . .	0·97	at 62 0	60 0
Boys, under 20 years . . .	0·14	25 0	3 6
Women, over 18 years . . .	0·36	30 6	11 0
Girls, under 18 years . . .	0·08	15 0	1 3
Pensioners . . . . .	0·12	10 0	1 3

---

77 0

with a margin for income from other sources.

p. 69, allowing for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  weeks holidays, is about (78s. — 3s. 6d.)  $\times (52 - 2\frac{1}{2})$  i.e. about £184.

The variation from the average may be judged from Table XXIV. In the whole area one-quarter of the incomes were below 55s. weekly, one-quarter above 93s. 6d. About one-tenth were below 34s. (including of course old age pensioners living alone), one tenth above £6 15s.

In the Eastern Survey Area (Volume III, p. 67) it was found that the average weekly income varied from 75s. 6d. in the outer, or south-east, boroughs, to 83s. in the external boroughs in Essex and Middlesex. In the Western Survey Area the variation is greater, viz. from 70s. in Outer North 2 (which includes Paddington, St. Marylebone, Chelsea, Kensington and Hampstead) to 83s. 6d. in the External Boroughs (Hornsey, Willesden and Acton). Except that incomes average more in the external boroughs than in the County, there is no geographical regularity in the distribution. The order shown by the medians and quartiles is different from that of the averages. The differences are principally due to variations in the "average family," which is an artificial entity and is diminished, for example, if there are many old age pensioners in the district. In the Western No. 2 district the number of adult male earners in the average family is only 0.84 as compared with 1.00 in the Western External Boroughs. Variation between the districts over the Whole Survey Area is due to the varying number of earners in the family rather than to difference of individual earnings, but in some districts the average is brought up owing to an unusual proportion of skilled workers.

It is to be remembered that all these figures refer to place of residence, not to place of work.

## NOTE ON PRECISION OF WAGE STATISTICS

The general accuracy of the figures is conditional on the absence of bias in the householders' statements. The consistency of the returns between districts and the regularity of the distribution in grades of wages afford considerable evidence that the returns are adequate.

As regards the precision of sampling, the analysis in Volume III, Appendix IV, shows how to obtain the standard deviations of the entries.

The averages, quartiles, etc., of the men's wages may be taken with a margin of 6*d.*, and the percentages within one or two units; thus, 15  $\pm$  1 per cent., while 1 per cent. means from say 0.3 to 1.7.

For single women's wages the numbers are sufficient to establish the averages, etc., within 6*d.* for the factory and clerical groups as a whole and for the age-groups under 30 years. In the higher age-groups a margin of 1*s.* should be allowed and also 1*s.* for the lower ages in the domestic group. For married women the margin of 6*d.* is sufficient for factories and for domestic service, together with an unknown addition for food, etc., not fully valued. For clerks and waitresses the numbers are very small and the averages quite rough.

In Table XXIII where all the groups are assembled the averages for unmarried women and girls are probably correct to 6*d.* For married women there is still the uncertainty of perquisites.

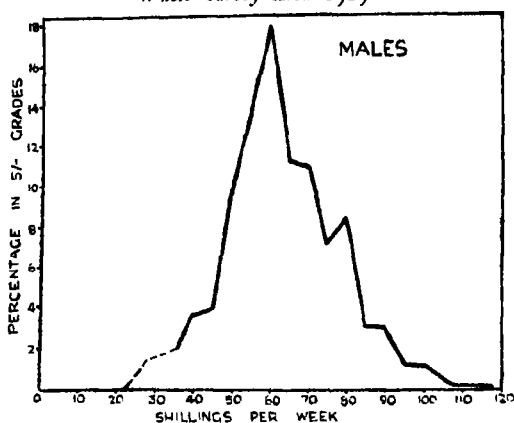
In the cases where more than 6*d.* is allowed for the errors in the averages the percentages in the wage groups should also be regarded as only rough. Where 6*d.* is the margin for the average, the margin for percentages to be allowed is the same as for men's wages in the paragraph above.



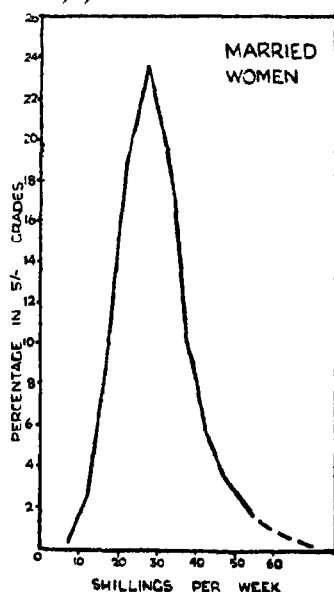
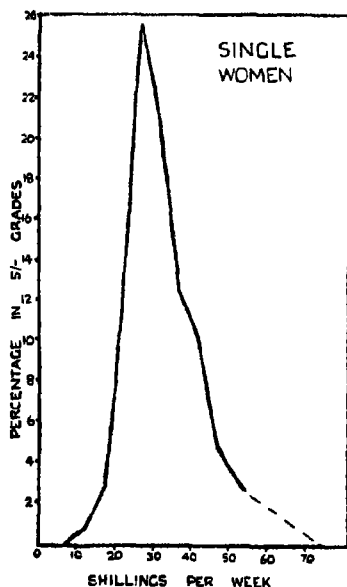




**DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING TABLE XVIII**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME WAGES OF MALE ADULT MANUAL WORKERS**  
 (AGED 20-65).  
*Whole Survey Area 1929.*



**DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING TABLE XXIII**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME WAGES OF FEMALE ADULT WORKERS IN**  
**WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES, MANUAL OR CLERICAL (AGED 20-65).**  
*Whole Survey Area 1929.*



ADULT MALES' FULL-TIME WEEKLY WAGES IN 1929  
 COMPARED WITH CHARLES BOOTH'S ESTIMATE FOR EARNINGS IN 1893.  
 (Percentage numbers earning below the amount on the horizontal scale.)

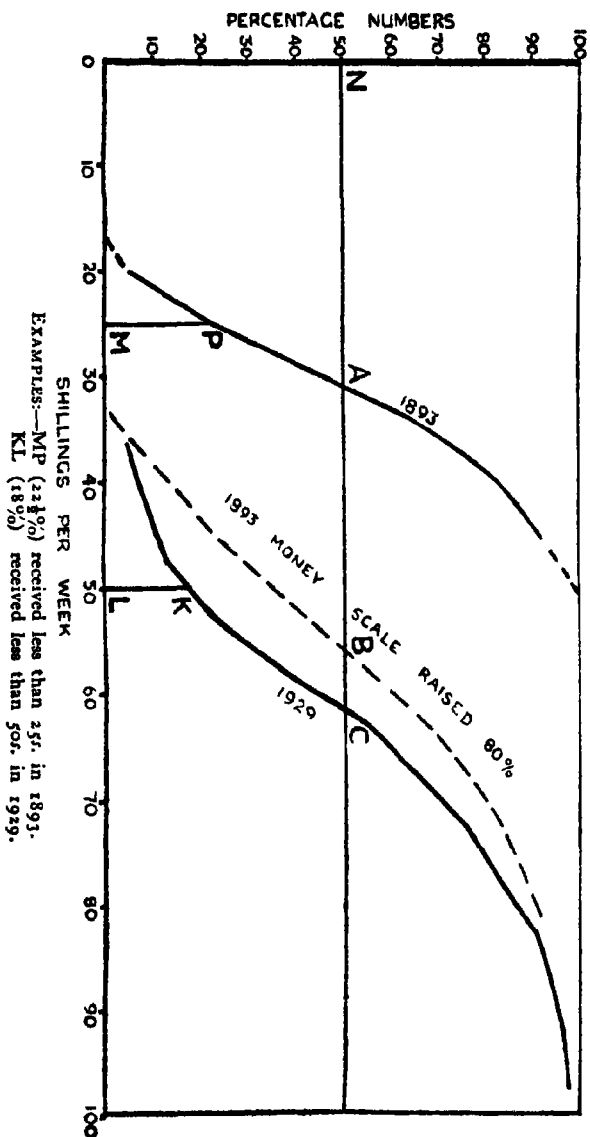


TABLE XIX

OCCUPIED WOMEN AND GIRLS AGED 14-65 LIVING IN WORKING-CLASS  
HOUSEHOLDS ONLY*Whole Survey Area*

A—Marital Condition

Per 1,000

Occupations	Relative Numbers		
	Unmarried	Married or Widowed	All
Factories, etc	594	295	533
Clerk, etc	278	49	230
Domestic	79(5) <sup>1</sup>	511(120) <sup>1</sup>	168(28) <sup>1</sup>
Waitresses	32	37	32
Outworkers	2	1	3
On own account	15	109	14
	1 000	1 000	1 000
Wages not stated	87	84	56
Occupation not stated	18	16	15
Full statement	895	900	896
	1,000	1 000	1 000

Unmarried 794  
 Married or widowed 206  
 1 000

B—Age Distribution Unmarried

Per cent

Occupations	Ages								Total	Not stated Percentage of total
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
Factories, etc	15	19	19	25	9	6	2	2	100	7
Clerks, etc	8	16	19	33	14	8	-	1	100	5
On own account	-	2	3	14	14	22	25	20	100	43
Occupation not stated	8	16	16	30	12	9	4	5	100	18
Domestic	3½	8½	9					79	100	-
Waitresses	4	9	18					69	100	-

<sup>1</sup> Part time, included in adjoining numbers

# WAGES AND FAMILY INCOME

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**TABLE XX**  
**WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' FULL TIME EARNINGS: WORKING-CLASS**  
**HOUSEHOLDS ONLY.**  
*Whole Survey Area.*

Distribution by Age: Factories, Workshops, Dressmaking, etc.  
 Per cent.

Ages.		Unmarried Women and Girls.										Married and Widows.	
Range of Wages.		14-	16-	18-	20-	25-	30-	40-	50-65	Not Stated	All 20-65.		
Not Under	Under												
s.	s.												
5	10	14	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
10	15	60	19	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	
15	20	23	50	15	3	—	—	—	—	1	2	4	
20	25	2	20	34	15	6	3	—	8	6	11	10	
25	30	1	7	30	36	27	12	14	10	22	31	23	
30	35	—	2	13	22	25	20	6	25	45	22	26	
35	40	—	3	10	14	23	12	19	22	14	14	14	
40	45	—	8	11	19	24	8	13	11	9	9	9	
45	50	—	—	1	2	5	8	13	5	4	5	5	
50	60	—	—	—	1	3	9	15	9	2	3	4	
60	—	—	—	—	1	2	5	14	9	2	2	3	
All		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Average		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Lower Quartile		13	6	18	6	25	6	30	6	34	6	39	6
Median		—	—	21	0	26	0	28	0	32	0	30	0
Upper Quartile		—	—	25	0	29	0	33	0	38	0	42	0
		—	—	29	0	34	0	39	0	44	0	51	0

**TABLE XXI**  
**WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' FULL TIME EARNINGS.**  
*Whole Survey Area.*

Distribution by Age: Teachers, Clerks, Shop-assistants, etc., belonging to and living in Working-Class Families.  
 Per cent.

Ages.		Unmarried Women and Girls										Married and Widows.	
Range of Wages		14-	16-	18-	20-	25-	30-	40-	50-65	Not Stated.	All 20-65.		
Not Under	Under												
5	10	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
10	15	45	11	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
15	20	40	35	7½	1	2	1	2½	—	—	—	2	
20	25	6	30	29	8	3	1	2½	20	4½	0	2	
25	30	1	15	31½	22	0	2½	1	—	8	14	7	
30	35	—	6	15	22	17½	11	6½	9	17½	19	24	
35	40	—	2	8	14	15	10	17	21	25	14	20	
40	45	—	—	5	13	15	12	12½	5½	13	13	7	
45	50	—	—	1	7	8	10	8½	8	6	8	7	
50	60	—	—	1	7	15	17	19	15½	8	11	12	
60	—	—	—	—	6	18½	35½	30½	21	17	14	17	
All		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Average		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Median		15	21	28	37	0 45	0	50	50 0 43	0	42	41 0	42
		—	20	27	34	6 41	6	50	49 0 40	0	—	38 6	38

Quartiles: All aged 20-65 315 and 305.

TABLE XXII

WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' FULL TIME<sup>1</sup> EARNINGS.*Whole Survey Area.*

Distribution by Age: Servants and Waitresses.

Per cent.

Ages		Charwomen, Non-Resident Domestic Servants					Waitresses				
Range of Wage		Unmarried				Married or Widowed	Unmarried				Married or Widowed.
		14-	16-	18-	20-65		14-	16-	18-	20-65	
Not Under	Under										
5	10	10	3½	2	—	—	10	—	—	—	—
10	15	66	33	11	4	4	36	6	1½	2	3½
15	20	24	43	30	11	15	42	41	28	6½	13
20	25	—	16½	29	25½	27½	10	46	32	23½	15½
25	30	—	4	2½	29	20½	—	3	33	17½	19
30	35	—	—	2	19	14	—	4	2½	16	18½
35	40	—	—	2	5	6	—	—	—	9½	15
40	45	—	—	—	3½	5	—	—	—	1	10
45	50	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	1	1½
50	55	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1½	4
55	60	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	2½	—
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Approximate averages		—	s d 10 6	s d 21 6	s d 27 6	s 27	—	s d 20 6	s 23	s 29	s 30

<sup>1</sup> Charwomen, etc., working 20 or more hours per week are counted as full time earners. The value of meals, tips, etc., is included as far as possible.

TABLE XXIII

FULL-TIME EARNINGS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS LIVING IN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES.

*Whole Survey Area.*All Occupations: Excluding Part Time, Outworkers and on own account.  
Per 1,000.

Range of Wages		Single, aged 20-65	Married or Widowed	Together
Not Under	Under			
5	10	—	3	1
10	15	7	27	12
15	20	8	99	49
20	25	117	186	137
25	30	256	237	251
30	35	206	194	201
35	40	176	162	119
40	45	102	56	90
45	50	49	35	44
50	55	34	31	44
55	60	55	25	47
		1,000	1,000	1,000
Average		s d 35 0		33 6
Lower Decile		23 0		21 6
Lower Quartile		27 0	23	26 0
Median		32 0	29	31 0
Upper Quartile		40 6	35	39 0
Upper Decile		51 0	44	49 6

TABLE XXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS WEEKLY FAMILY INCOME ON THE ASSUMPTION  
OF FULL-TIME WAGES.*Working-Class Families.*

Per 1,000 Families.

Range of Income.				Western Survey Area.	Eastern Survey Area.	Whole Survey Area.
Over s. d.	Not Over s. d.					
—	34 0	.	.	102	101	102
34 0	37 6	.	.	15	11	13
37 6	42 6	.	.	25	25	25
42 6	47 6	.	.	22	24	23
47 6	52 6	.	.	51	54	52
52 6	57 6	.	.	78	66	72
57 6	62 6	.	.	108	97	101
62 6	67 6	.	.	63	80	70
67 6	72 6	.	.	85	77	82
72 6	77 6	.	.	57	51	55
77 6	82 6	.	.	70	68	70
82 6	87 6	.	.	39	38	39
87 6	92 6	.	.	42	39	41
92 6	97 6	.	.	29	26	28
97 6	102 6	.	.	27	28	28
102 6	112 6	.	.	35	43	38
112 6	122 6	.	.	32	33	32
122 6	132 6	.	.	23	27	25
132 6	142 6	.	.	21	23	22
142 6	152 6	.	.	17	19	18
152 6	162 6	.	.	15	16	16
162 6	172 6	.	.	12	10	11
172 6	182 6	.	.	7	10	8
182 6	192 6	.	.	6	7	6
192 6	202 6	.	.	4	6	5
202 6	—	.	.	16	21	18
				1,000	1,000	1,000

## WEEKLY FAMILY INCOME.

District	Lower Quartile. s. d.	Median s. d.	Upper Quartile s. d.	Average. s. d.
WESTERN SURVEY AREA				
Inner North . . . .	46 6	64 0	81 0	72 0
Inner South . . . .	54 0	68 0	91 0	75 0
Outer North—I . . . .	54 6	70 0	93 0	77 0
Outer North—II . . . .	49 0	62 6	86 6	70 0
Outer South . . . .	57 0	72 6	91 0	79 6
External . . . .	60 0	74 6	96 0	83 6
Whole . . . .	54 9	69 9	91 9	76 6
EASTERN SURVEY AREA . . . .				
	55 9	71 0	97 0	80 0
WHOLE SURVEY AREA . . . .				
	55 0	70 0	93 6	78 0

A margin of  $\pm 2s$  should be allowed in the estimates of the averages, and of  $1s$  in the estimates of the quartiles.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EXTENT AND CAUSES OF POVERTY

THE analyses detailed in Volume III, Chapter VI, have been carried out for the Western Area and the results are given in the Tables that follow. In all the figures relating to the Area as a whole the results are rather more favourable than in the Eastern Area as a whole, and the difference is relatively greater than in Charles Booth's time.

In the Whole Survey Area, East and West, the percentage of persons in working-class families, which contain children aged 3 to 14, found to be below the Poverty Line in 1929 was 5·1 per cent. on the assumption of full-time earnings, 10·7 per cent. on the earnings of the week of investigation. The figures remain practically unchanged if the external boroughs are excluded. In Charles Booth's investigation the percentage of Classes A to D (Poverty) to Classes A to F (all excluding middle and upper classes) was 37.

If families without school children are brought into account the percentages are reduced throughout, as Charles Booth anticipated would be the case. The figures are shown in the accompanying Table.

The percentage of families below the Poverty Line<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Poverty Line is fully discussed in Volume III, Chapter V. It may be defined briefly as the amount of income necessary to provide a bare sufficiency, by reasonable standards, of food, clothing, shelter, warmth, etc. For example, the selected standards give for a man, his wife and two children aged 10 and 4, a necessary weekly expenditure of 19s. for food, 9s. 4d. for rent, 4s. 2d. for clothing, 3s. for fuel and 3s. 6d. for household sundries, insurance and travelling, making a total of 39s. Such a family would be below the Poverty Line if their weekly income were under 39s.



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is in all cases rather greater than the percentage of persons. This is the result of a balance between the small number of large families in poverty and the large number of old persons living alone with insufficient income. The former group is larger in the week of investigation and the difference between the two reckonings is consequently smaller than when full earnings are assumed.

Comparisons which include the middle class are more hazardous in the Western than they were in the Eastern Area.

PARSONS IN POVERTY AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL PERSONS IN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES

Areas		Working-Class Families with School Children		All Working-Class Families	
		Full Time	Week of Investigation	Full Time	Week of Investigation
County East	1890 <sup>1</sup>		38.4		
	1929	6.1	13.1	5.6	11.4
West	1890		36.8		
	1929	4.5	9.0	4.2	8.3
Total	1890		37.3		
	1929	5.2	10.7	4.7	9.5
Survey Area:					
East	1929	5.9	12.5	5.2	10.7
West	1929	4.2	8.0	4.0	7.8
Total	1929	5.1	10.7	4.6	9.1

<sup>1</sup> Classes A to D as percentages of Classes A to F.

**FAMILIES IN POVERTY AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES.**

Areas.	All Working-Class Families.	
	Full Time.	Week of Investigation.
County, 1929:		
East . . . . .	7.0	12.0
West . . . . .	5.3	8.5
Total. . . . .	5.9	9.9
Survey Area, 1929:		
East . . . . .	6.3	11.0
West . . . . .	5.2	8.7
Total. . . . .	5.7	9.8

**CHARLES BOOTH'S CLASSIFICATION.**

Districts.	Population (000's).			In Poverty Percentages.	
	Poverty, A to D.	Working Class, A to F.	All, A to H.	A to D of Total.	A to D of A to F.
Eastern County . . . . .	481	1,252	1,417	33.9	38.4
Western County . . . . .	812	2,208	2,792	29.1	36.8
Total . . . . .	1,292	3,460	4,209	30.7	37.3

*Note.*—For Eastern County figures, see Vol. III, p. 80. The figures for the Western County have been obtained by subtraction. See also Charles Booth's Survey, Vol. II, App., p. 60.

The estimates made in earlier chapters<sup>1</sup> suggest that the proportion of persons in middle-class families to all persons in private families is 22 per cent. in the Eastern, 32 per cent. in the Western, and 28 per cent. in the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, p. 36, and Chapter I in this volume.

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Whole Area. Counting all these persons above the poverty line,<sup>1</sup> we find the proportion in poverty to be:

*Persons in Families below the Poverty Line as Percentage of All Families*

	At Full-Time Earnings.	In Week of Investigation.
Eastern Area . . .	4.1	8.3
Western Area . . .	2.7	5.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Whole Area . . .	3.3	6.6

These may be put alongside Charles Booth's figures, A to D of total; the percentages in which, however, ought to be lowered a little since they are based only on families with school children. In the County of London his proportion in classes G and H (the middle and upper classes) are Eastern 11 per cent., Western 28 per cent., all 17 per cent. When allowance is made for the inclusion of Leyton, Tottenham and Walthamstow, boroughs with a large proportion of middle class, in the new Eastern Area, and for the changes in 40 years these figures are not inconsistent with those for 1929. At both dates in the whole area the proportion in poverty is increased by about one-fourth part if we exclude the middle class from the reckoning.

The relation of these figures to the results of the Street Survey is discussed in Chapter VIII.

Neither the Western nor the Eastern Area is homogeneous as regards the proportions of working-class poverty, nor is the line of demarcation between them one that would be chosen for this particular study. The order of the boroughs is similar whichever measurement we take, but in the following Table the main comparison is based on figures for a full-time week, while the percentages in the Week of Investigation are also given in brackets.

<sup>1</sup> A small proportion of families counted as middle-class on an occupational basis may fall below the poverty line in a special week, but their effect on the figures given in the little table is relatively small.

**BOROUGHES ARRANGED IN ORDER OF THE PERCENTAGES OF WORKING-CLASS  
FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LINE ON THE ASSUMPTION OF FULL-  
TIME EARNINGS.**

Leyton . . . . .	1.0 (2.5)	Finsbury . . . . .	5.1 (11.0)
Westminster . . . . .	1.9 (2.6)	Camberwell . . . . .	5.3 (9.9)
St. Marylebone . . . . .	2.8 (4.6)	Acton . . . . .	5.6 (11.9)
Hackney . . . . .	2.9 (5.5)	Woolwich . . . . .	5.7 (7.0)
Hornsey . . . . .	2.9 (3.6)	Islington . . . . .	6.0 (9.4)
Willesden . . . . .	2.9 (7.2)	Paddington . . . . .	6.1 (9.0)
Battersea . . . . .	3.4 (5.5)	East Ham . . . . .	6.4 (9.8)
South Lambeth . . . . .	3.7 (9.3)	West Ham . . . . .	6.8 (13.6)
Lewisham . . . . .	3.8 (5.4)	Holborn . . . . .	6.8 (8.7)
Walthamstow . . . . .	3.9 (6.5)	Chelsea . . . . .	6.8 (11.7)
Hampstead . . . . .	4.3 (5.7)	St. Pancras . . . . .	7.0 (11.4)
Hammersmith . . . . .	4.4 (8.5)	Shoreditch . . . . .	7.0 (13.8)
Barking . . . . .	4.4 (9.3)	Deptford . . . . .	7.3 (12.4)
Fulham . . . . .	4.5 (7.5)	Southwark . . . . .	7.8 (11.6)
Greenwich . . . . .	4.6 (8.2)	Stepney . . . . .	8.0 (19.3)
Wandsworth . . . . .	4.7 (6.4)	Bermondsey . . . . .	8.3 (14.7)
Tottenham . . . . .	4.7 (8.4)	Bethnal Green . . . . .	8.9 (14.6)
Stoke Newington . . . . .	5.0 (7.0)	Kensington . . . . .	9.2 (12.4)
North Lambeth . . . . .	5.0 (9.3)	Poplar . . . . .	14.5 (19.5)

The external and outer boroughs are, for the most part, in the first column, with a percentage of 5.0 or less, and the central riverside boroughs come low in the list; but there is no easy generalisation, and the small working-class population of Kensington has the highest percentage in the Western Area.

The incidence of poverty on different classes can be considered from several points of view. In Table XXVI an analysis is made by age and sex, and earners are distinguished from dependants. The first column of figures shows the distribution of the whole population, as given in Table VI, p. 43. The second pair of columns shows the stress of poverty on each group. Thus in the week of investigation, among all earners 5.0 per cent. were in families below the poverty line in the Western Area, and this combined with the 6.6 per cent. in the Eastern Area (Vol. III, p. 82) results in 5.7 per cent. for the whole Survey Area. Similarly among non-earners the percentages are 10.2 (West), 14.0 (East) and 11.8 (Whole).

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The West resembles the East in similar diminutions at all ages, and it is not necessary to comment on it separately. In the Whole Area the proportions in poverty are greater among the non-earning men and women over 65 years old than in any other group. The percentage of children in poverty, however, reaches 6 or 7 per cent. when full earnings are assumed and 13 per cent. in the week of investigation. The percentages for boys and girls are higher than for earning adults.

The last pair of columns show the proportions contributed by the various groups to the whole mass of poverty. At full-time earnings approximately 20 per cent. of all were men or women over 65 years, 38 per cent. were children under 14 years, 23 per cent. were other non-earners, principally women, while 19 per cent. were earners. In the week of investigation this figure for earners (under 65 years) is raised to over 27, children form about the same proportion as before, while the proportion of old people falls to 11.

Table XXVI referred to persons, Tables XXVII and XXVIII refer to families. In the columns showing the percentage of each group in poverty it is noticeable that where a man, with or without other members of his family, is earning, the percentages increase with the number of children, and are high where the families are large. The last columns show that owing to the relatively small number of large families the proportion that they form of all families in poverty is small. When all the families are massed together as at the bottom of the table, the highest percentage and by far the largest contribution to the total is the group where there are no dependent children. This is due to the great number of old people living alone that are classed in poverty; the proportion of families they account for is much greater than the proportion of persons. Apart from these the percentages in each group increase rapidly with the number of children, but, since the number of families (as in the first column) falls more

rapidly as there are more children, the proportions in the last two columns decrease. In the whole area in the week of investigation families with 4 or more dependent children form one-seventh part of all in poverty, while they are only one-seventeenth part of all families.

Table XXIX (corresponding to Vol. III, p. 86, for the Eastern Area) shows in more summary form the variation in each Western District of the percentages in poverty in each group. The numbers run in nearly the same order of magnitude in every column, except for the peculiarity that in the Inner Northern group the percentage where there are two dependent children is low. The numbers, when the subdivision is carried so far, are however too small for precision.

It is already evident that old age, absence of a male earner, and largeness of families are the major causes of poverty in a week of full-time earnings. We get a closer view in Table XXX (*A*) where the apparent causes of poverty are analysed in the same way as for the Eastern Area (Vol. III, p. 88).

Old age accounts for a larger proportion of cases in the Western than in the Eastern Area. It will be found by reference to Volume III that where an old person is living alone and has no income but an old age pension of 10s. weekly the margin left after allowing for rent is commonly insufficient. In fact, the pension is frequently supplemented by relief from the Public Assistance Committees. The fall of prices since 1929, however, is sufficient to bring some proportion of this group above the minimum line.

The small proportion due to illness appears to be lower in the West than in the East in spite of a revision of the figures for the latter. In fact it is difficult to decide whether illness is temporary or permanent, and therefore whether cases should be classed as due to illness or to the absence of a male earner. The first four lines of the Table give nearly the same aggregate, 76 per cent., for the East and the West. When full wages are earned the proportion due to small earnings

and large families is very small, 2 per cent. in each area. But the proportion where wages are insufficient to support three children is 9 in the Western Area, though only 5 in the Eastern. Poverty due to large families (the wages being sufficient for three children but not more than three) make a larger proportion in the East.

The proportions are greatly modified on the basis of the week of investigation. Unemployment now accounts for nearly one-third of the cases, illness assumes more importance, and the permanent causes accordingly account for smaller proportions.

We obtain a different and perhaps a more useful analysis if we classify by persons as in Table XXX (*B*) instead of by families. The assumption has, of course, to be made that all persons in a household where the aggregate income is insufficient are below the poverty line. Here old age gives a much smaller proportion; the group where there is no effective male earner remains at about 37 per cent. (full time); the cases where the family is too large for the earnings rise from 18 per cent. to 38 per cent. in the whole area (full time).

#### RENT AS A CONTRIBUTORY CAUSE OF POVERTY

In Volume III we did not in the House Sample inquiry consider specifically rent as a factor in poverty. Throughout, rent was deducted as a necessary expense from income before income was compared with needs.

We have now to examine the question how far excessive rent or the inadequacy or excess of housing accommodation may be a contributory cause of poverty. The direct way of approach is to consider the rents paid by families already classed as poor and compare them with some standard of rent and rooms. This standard must be arbitrary, both as regards the number of rooms needed and the average rent per room. For the purpose of this analysis the following amounts were taken for the minimum expense of housing, parallel with the minimum expense of food, etc.:

## MINIMUM RENT STANDARD.

	1 person	1 room	5s.
	2 or more persons:		
Number of rooms	2 rooms	.	8s. 6d.
bedrooms according	3 "	.	10s. 6d.
to "Manchester"	4 "	.	13s. 0d.
Standard plus one	5 "	.	15s. 6d.

The rents assumed are near the averages for both the Eastern and the Western Areas.

There are two kinds of cases :

A. Where the number of rooms was not in excess of the standard, but the rent paid was in excess. If the reduction to standard rent would have brought income up to needs, then high rent is a cause of poverty, e.g. man, wife and infant required two rooms for which the standard rent is 8s. 6d. They paid 11s. for two rooms and their income was 1s. in defect of needs. If the rent was reduced by 2s. 6d., they would be above the line with a margin of 1s. 6d.

B. Where the number of rooms was in excess of needs.<sup>1</sup> E.g. man, wife, and infant occupied 3 rooms at a rent of 12s. 6d., and their income deficit was 6d. On the standard rent for 2 rooms there would be an excess of 3s. 6d. If the distribution of expenditure between rent, food, clothing, etc., on the minimum scale is regarded as standard, poverty here is due to a maladjustment of expenditure, whether avoidable or not.

Where a family is brought below the line by unemployment it is not generally possible nor necessarily advisable to reduce its standard of housing. Thus a man, wife, school-child and infant rented 4 rooms for 20s. and had a margin above the poverty line, though the rent is 9s. 6d. above the minimum standard for 3 rooms, and indeed above the average for 4 rooms. But in the week of investigation owing to unemployment

<sup>1</sup> Whatever the rent per room, if the whole rent was above the standard for the family.



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there was a deficit of 2s. 6d., which would have been replaced by a margin of 7s. at standard rent.

The results of this analysis are:

### RENT AS AN APPARENT CAUSE OF POVERTY.

	Per 100 Families in Poverty.			Per 100 Working-Class Families, above and below the Poverty Line.
	Eastern Area	Western Area	Whole Area	Whole Area.
	Full Time Week.			
A. Rent per room high . . . . .	3.5	6.3	4.9	0.28
B. Number of rooms above standard . . . . .	4.6	6.6	5.6	0.32
In poverty if rent equalled standard	91.9	87.1	89.5	5.10
	100	100	100	5.70
	Week of Investigation			
A. Rent per room high . . . . .	2.9	6.4	4.6	0.45
B. Number of rooms above standard . . . . .	3.7	5.4	4.5	0.45
In poverty if rent equalled standard	93.4	88.2	90.9	8.9
	100	100	100	9.80

The proportion of cases in which poverty can be directly assigned to high rent is therefore quite small, though somewhat larger in the West than in the East. It may, however, be a contributory cause in a larger group of those who are below the poverty line, for though reduction of rent to the standard would not relieve them of poverty, in some cases it would make the deficit perceptibly less.

There is another aspect of the question to be considered. If we are bringing in a minimum standard of rent on the same basis as for food, etc., for the families who are in poverty, we should also see how many families evade poverty by pinching in house accommodation.

Applying the same standard of rooms and rent, we examined all the cards (above the poverty line) where house-room was deficient, and sorted out those where if the rent had been raised to the standard for the requisite rooms the excess would have been turned into a deficit. Only 0.5 per cent. of all the working-class households in the whole area satisfied this condition.

RENT IN RELATION TO POVERTY—WORKING-CLASS HOUSEHOLDS.

Per 100 families.

	East	West	All	East	West	All
	Full Time Week.			Week of Investigation.		
(a) Above poverty line in any case	93.2	94.3	93.8	88.1	90.7	89.5
(b) Brought below if number of rooms were raised to standard	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.7
(c) Below because of additional rooms	0.3	0.35	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.45
(d) Below because of high rent per room	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.55	0.45
(e) Below in any case	5.8	4.55	5.1	10.4	7.7	8.9
	100	100	100	100	100	100

If a new poverty line had been used with rent on the same basis as food, and without reference to what in fact was paid, the poverty group would have been (e) and (b) instead of (e) and (c) and (d), and the total for the Whole Area in the week of investigation would have been 9.6 per cent. instead of 9.8 per cent.

The increase in lines (c) and (d) from the full week to the week of investigation affords some measure of the burden of rent, when a man who can afford good or expensive accommodation when at work can not do so when unemployed.

In group (a) are included a considerable proportion, not here reckoned, of families who in fact are living in over-crowded conditions, but have sufficient margin of income above bare needs to pay for sufficient accommodation, if they desire and can obtain it.

The last Table can be re-cast to show the relative number of persons in the different groups.

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## RENT IN RELATION TO POVERTY—PERSONS IN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES.

Per 100 persons

	East	West	All	East	West	All
	Full Time Week			Week of Investigation		
(a) Above poverty line in any case	94.15	95.4	94.8	88.6	91.5	90.1
(b) Below if number of rooms were raised to standard	0.65	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.8
(c) Below because of additional rooms	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.15	0.4	0.35
(d) Below because of high rent per room	0.75	0.35	0.3	0.15	0.6	0.5
(e) Below in any case	4.65	3.4	4.0	9.8	6.9	8.3
	100	100	100	100	100	100

The proportions in line (b) are increased, because the crowded poor families are above the average in size. Those in (c) are diminished because of the large number of persons living alone in poverty.

## RELATION OF INCOME TO MINIMUM STANDARD

That the great majority of the families above the poverty line have a sufficient margin to increase their rental expenditure by adding the one or two additional rooms needed is clear from Table XXXII, which shows the excess of income above needs or its defect. The figures for the Western Area are so close to those already given for the Eastern (Vol. III, p. 91), that further comment on them is hardly necessary.

The average of the margin, when all families are taken in the Whole Area, and excess is balanced against deficiency, is about 34s. 6d. in a full time week and 31s. in the week of investigation. The average of the loss in the particular week, supposed spread over all families is therefore about 3s. 6d., that is roughly 5 per cent. of average family income. This corresponds fairly well with the 6.4 per cent. given in Vol. I, p. 355, as the percentage of insured males unemployed in 1929,

since this includes temporarily as well as completely unemployed men,<sup>1</sup> and more closely to the 5.3 per cent. when females are included.

We saw above that Charles Booth found 37 per cent. of persons of the working class below the poverty line (A to D as percentage of A to F) in the whole County of London. Modifying this on the one hand to include families without children, and on the other to apply to families instead of to persons, we may expect the proportion to be practically unchanged in a full time week (the two changes counterbalancing), but to be reduced to about 34 per cent. in the week of investigation.<sup>2</sup>

If now we reckon up from the bottom of the Table we find that the 37 per cent. for the Whole Area reaches to about 24s. margin in the full time week, while the 34 per cent. reaches to about 19s. in the week of investigation.

Thus, speaking broadly, in 1929 allowing for unemployment, two-thirds of the working-class families had a surplus of 19s. or more a week, while in Booth's time two-thirds included the whole of the families above the poverty line.

The proportion in poverty in the New Survey is little greater than that in the two lowest classes, the "very poor," in 1890; classes C and D, "the poor," are replaced by those with a margin of up to £1 weekly, more than half of them with over 10s. In the modern use of the word, this group would still be termed poor (see Vol. III, pp. 11 and 72).

In the working-class families taken all together about 60 per cent. of their income is allotted to bare necessities and 40 per cent. is available for other purposes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The most stable employments, e.g. permanent railwaymen, are excluded.

<sup>2</sup> The factors are not quite the same in the West and East, and consequently the result differs slightly from that of Vol. III, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> 34s. 6d. average excess on a full week's income of 78s., or 30s. on the average in the special week of about 74s. 6d., with a slight margin for loss of wages through trade holidays.

## EFFECT OF POOLING OF INCOMES

In all the Tables so far the income of a family has been taken as a unit, that is, it has been assumed that the earnings of all its members have been available for meeting the joint minimum needs. The reasonableness of this assumption is open to question, and we have no special information as to the extent to which subsidiary workers pay their wages into the housewife's purse.

In Volume III we selected for examination the households where there were dependent children and among the earners were sons or daughters of the heads of the house. About one household in seven satisfies this condition. In the great majority of the cases the earnings of the parents were sufficient for themselves and their non-earning children, without any help from other earners beyond payments to cover their own expenses; that is if the other earners had been absent the family would have still been above the line.<sup>1</sup> Table XXXI shows the proportions in which the family would have been in poverty if the earning children had not contributed more than enough for their own minimum needs. For the Whole Survey Area this number is 18 per 1,000 of all families in a full time week and 24 per 1,000 in the week of investigation. These numbers do not include families where children's earnings are necessary to support their parents, there being no other dependent children. In general the cases included are where earners are helping to support their brothers or sisters of any ages.

If we add these figures to the proportions that are in poverty even if all earnings are pooled, we obtain 75 per 1,000 in the full time week and 122 in the week of investigation, instead of 57 and 98.

The proportions are nearly the same if we take a person instead of a family as the unit. Per 1,000

<sup>1</sup> In a very few cases it was necessary to debit part of the rent to the earning children.

persons in the Whole Survey Area in the week of investigation 11 adults and 14 dependent children were in families above the line only by virtue of contributions from earning children. These earning children formed 16 per 1,000 of the population. Their earnings were sufficient for more than their own minimum needs, and they ought not to be counted in poverty. On this basis the proportions in poverty in the whole area are raised from 46 per 1,000 (full time), 91 per 1,000 (week of investigation) to 64 and 116 per 1,000.

The so-called earning "children" are in fact mainly adults. In the Western Area for example the proportions by age and sex are roughly in a full time week:

Age.	Male.	Female	Together.
20—	31		
18—20	9	30	70
16—18	8	11	19
14—16	4	7	11
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 48	<hr/> 100

Of all the boys and girls under 18 who are earning in the Western Area only about one in fifteen are called upon to contribute to the support of their younger brothers and sisters in a full time week, in order to keep them above the Poverty Line.

When we consider the numbers of children who depend in part at least on their elder brothers or sisters, we naturally find them to be a larger proportion of all children than are their families of all families. In fact, if this support were not forthcoming the percentage in poverty of children under 14 years would be increased from 6.5 to 10 in a full week, and from 13.1 to 17.5 in the week of investigation.

Throughout the Table it is seen that the proportions added in the Western Area are slightly less than in the Eastern.

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## CHAPTER IV: TABLES

TABLE XXV

PERCENTAGES OF FAMILIES AND OF PERSONS IN POVERTY.

Marginal Cases, Lodgers, and Cases where information is insufficient excluded in Numerator and Denominator.

The figures in the decimal place are a little uncertain.

Horroughs.	Families.		Persons.	
	Full Time	Week of	Full Time	Week of
	Week	Investigation.	Week.	Investigation.
	Per cent	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Finsbury . . . . .	5.1	11.0	3.5	10.4
Holborn . . . . .	6.8	8.7	4.7	7.0
Westminster . . . . .	1.9	2.6	2.6	3.5
Inner North . . . . .	3.9	6.9	3.2	7.0
North Lambeth . . . . .	5.0	9.3	3.3	7.4
Southwark . . . . .	7.8	11.6	5.7	10.1
Inner South . . . . .	6.6	10.6	4.8	9.0
Fulham . . . . .	4.5	7.5	3.0	6.0
Hammersmith . . . . .	4.4	8.5	3.3	7.8
Islington . . . . .	6.0	9.4	4.4	8.0
St. Pancras . . . . .	7.0	11.4	5.8	11.2
Outer North 1 . . . . .	5.8	9.5	4.4	8.5
Chelsea . . . . .	6.8	11.7	3.8	9.0
Hampstead . . . . .	4.3	5.7	4.3	5.5
Kensington . . . . .	9.2	12.4	8.5	11.7
Paddington . . . . .	6.1	9.0	5.9	9.3
St. Marylebone . . . . .	2.8	4.6	3.5	5.7
Outer North 2 . . . . .	6.3	9.1	5.4	8.4
Battersea . . . . .	3.4	5.5	2.8	5.0
Camberwell . . . . .	5.3	9.9	3.3	8.2
South Lambeth . . . . .	3.7	9.3	2.6	8.3
Wandsworth . . . . .	4.7	6.4	3.3	5.0
Outer South . . . . .	4.5	7.9	3.1	6.6
Acton . . . . .	5.6	11.9	3.6	10.0
Hornsey . . . . .	2.9	3.6	3.4	4.5
Willesden . . . . .	2.9	7.2	2.3	6.9
External . . . . .	3.6	7.6	2.8	7.2
WESTERN SURVEY AREA . . . . .	5.2	8.7	4.0	7.8
EASTERN SURVEY AREA . . . . .	6.3	11.0	5.2	10.7
WHOLE SURVEY AREA . . . . .	5.7	9.8	4.6	9.1

TABLE XXVI  
DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND AGE OF PERSONS IN POVERTY.  
*Western Survey Area.*

	Relative Numbers in Each Group in Popula- tion, <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of Each Group in Poverty.		Percentage Contributed by Each Group to Total Number in Poverty.	
		Full Time Week.	Week of Investi- gation.	Full Time Week.	Week of Investi- gation.
<i>Earners:</i>					
Males 65 and over .	7	1½	7	0.3	0.7
20-65 . .	274	1½	5	9.3	17.1
18-20 . .	16	1	3	0.4	0.7
16-18 . .	16	2	4	0.7	0.9
14-16 . .	11	2	5	0.5	0.7
Females 65 and over	3	8	11	0.5	0.4
18-65 . .	105	3	5	6.9	6.7
16-18 . .	16	2	6	0.9	1.2
14-16 . .	10	3	7	0.7	0.9
Total Earners . . .	458	1.8	5.0	20.3	29.3
<i>Non-Earners:</i>					
Males 65 and over.	14	23	24	7.3	3.9
20-65 . .	5	16	18	1.9	1.1
14-20 . .	7	7	10	1.3	0.9
Females 65 and over	29	22	24	14.9	8.2
18-65 . .	223	3	7	16.9	19.1
14-18 . .	8	5	8	1.0	0.8
Children 5-14 . .	176	6	11	26.2	25.1
3-5 . .	36	5	11	4.7	5.2
0-3 . .	45	5	11	5.5	6.4
Total Non-Earners . .	542	5.9	10.2	79.7	70.7
TOTAL . . .	1,000	4.0	7.8	100	100

<sup>1</sup> These figures are from Table VI and are based on all families, even if there is insufficient information for classification of incomes. It has not been feasible to eliminate these cases for the computations in the middle columns, but there is no reason to suppose that any of the numbers would be significantly affected.



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TABLE XXVI (*continued*)

DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND AGE OF PERSONS IN POVERTY.  
*Whole Survey Area.*

	Relative Numbers in Each Group in Population. <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of Each Group in Poverty.		Percentage Contributed by Each Group to Total Number in Poverty.	
		Full Time Week.	Week of Investigation	Full Time Week.	Week of Investigation.
<i>Earners:</i>					
Males 65 and over.	6	2	7½	0.3	0.6
20-65 . . .	272	1½	5½	9.4	16.8
18-20 . . .	16	1	3½	0.4	0.7
16-18 . . .	16	2½	5½	0.9	1.0
14-16 . . .	12	3	8	0.8	1.0
Females 65 and over	2	10	13½	0.4	0.3
18-65 . . .	100	3	5	5.9	5.7
16-18 . . .	16	2	6	0.8	1.1
14-16 . . .	10	4	10	1.0	1.1
Total Earners . . .	451	2.0	5.7	19.9	28.3
<i>Non-Earners:</i>					
Males 65 and over	14	24	25	6.7	3.5
20-65 . . .	5	21	23	2.3	1.2
14-20 . . .	7	7	10½	1.2	0.9
Females 65 and over	27	22	24	12.4	6.7
18-65 . . .	222	4	8	17.0	19.4
14-18 . . .	8	6	10	1.2	0.9
Children 5-14 . . .	184	7	13	28.3	27.1
3-5 . . .	37	5½	13	4.5	5.4
0-3 . . .	45	5½	13	5.6	6.6
Total Non-Earners . . .	549	6.6	11.8	80.1	71.7
TOTAL . . . . .	1,000	4.6	9.1	100	100

<sup>1</sup> These figures are from Table VI and are based on all families, even if there is insufficient information for classification of incomes. It has not been feasible to eliminate these cases for the computations in the middle columns, but there is no reason to suppose that any of the numbers would be significantly affected.

TABLE XXVII—STRESS OF POVERTY ON FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT COMPOSITION

WESTERN SURVEY AREA.

Farming Strength and Dependent Children		Percentage Contributed by Each Group to Total Number of Families in Poverty		Percentage Contributed by Each Group to Total Number of Families in Poverty	
Man alone Earning Dependent Children 0	Relative Numbers in 1911 (Percent in 1911)	Full Time Week	Week of Investigation	Full Time Week	Week of Investigation
1	0	0.7	51	2.3	11.9
2	140	0.9	4	5	6.6
3	83	1.1	7	25	7.4
4	49	4	103	30	4.6
5 or more	17	1	195	3	3.5
Man and Other Member of Family Earning Dependent Children 0	10	0	30	15	3.7
1	1.5	0.4	5	11	3.7
2	63	1	37	0.9	2.7
3	4	1	4	0.2	1.8
4	0	0.7	9	0.6	1.2
5 or more	1	7	14	1	1.8
Other Cases where Adult Male is Farming Dependent Children 0	41	0.8	34	0.7	1.7
1 or more	1	0	3	0.2	0.9
No Adult Male Earning Dependent Children 0	144	1	5	635	40.3
1	17	11	14	35	2.7
2	12	3	8	3	2.3
3 or more	5	45	46	48	2.8
All Families	100	100	87	100	100
All Families Dependent Children 0	56	1	0.2	68.1	97.6
1	41	1.1	47	7.0	12.6
2	10	2.0	71	8.0	14.6
3	63	4.6	105	5.6	8.0
4	30	9.7	17	1.7	2.8
5	14	12.4	14	1.4	2.3
6 or more	7	3	35	3.1	5.2
All Families	100	100	87	100	100

TABLE XXVIII.—STRESS OF POVERTY ON FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT COMPOSITION. WHOLE SURVEY AREA.

Earning Strength and Dependent Children	Relative Numbers in Each Group	Percentage of Each Group in Poverty		Percentage Contributed by Each Group to Total Number of Families in Poverty	
		Full Time Week	Week of Investigation	Full Time Week	Week of Investigation
<i>Men alone Earning</i>					
Dependent Children 0	184	57	51	25	97
1	133	68	70	28	70
2	87	18	17	28	67
3	45	60	17	30	51
4	22	69	16	30	51
5 or more	13	44	35	55	46
<i>Man and Other Member of Family Farming</i>					
Dependent Children 0	132	63	6	07	36
1	6	67	34	07	22
2	37	1	56	08	22
3	1	1	81	04	18
4	12	3	57	07	11
5 or more	13	11	1	25	27
<i>Other Cases where Adult Male is Farming</i>					
Dependent Children 0	46	14	44	11	21
1 or more	13	40	44	07	09
<i>No Adult Male Farmer</i>					
Dependent Children 0	144	43	25	60	37
1	16	14	40	49	33
2	8	31	35	42	27
3 or more	7	45	49	44	27
<i>All Families</i>	1,000	57	98	100	100
<i>All Families</i>					
Dependent Children 0	408	72	100	64	52
1	251	40	4	77	12
2	137	33	8	79	19
3	69	68	17	18	63
4	37	15	25	33	43
5 or more	10	26	37	43	38
	1,000	57	98	100	100

TABLE XXIX

## STRESS OF POVERTY ON FAMILIES OF VARIOUS COMPOSITIONS

*Western Survey Area**Percentage in Each Group in Poverty*

	FAMILIES BY SEXES		FAMILIES BY OCCUPATION			External Boroughs
	North	South	North	North	South	
	All Families					
<i>Analysis by Earners</i>						
Man only	1	1	2	4	1	2
Man and other members of family	1	1	1	7	1	0
Other cases that include adult male	0	0	1	1	1	0
No adult male earner	13	23	24	17	3	16
<i>Analysis by Dependent Children</i>						
No of dependent children 0	5	9	8	7	6	4
1	2	2	1	2	1	2
2	1	2	2	5	3	3
3	5	5	5	8	4	4
4	2	4	13	16	1	7
5	9	9	16	23	7	15
6 or more	41	31	13	36	15	7
<i>All Families</i>	39	66	56	63	45	36
	Week of Investigation					
<i>Analysis by Earners</i>						
Man only	6	9	6	7	5	7
Man and other members of family	5	4	5	5	4	3
Other cases that include adult male	2	0	4	5	5	3
No adult male earner	14	26	26	19	24	21
<i>Analysis by Dependent Children</i>						
No of dependent children 0	7	12	11	9	9	7
1	5	4	4	5	4	6
2	2	4	7	9	7	7
3	10	10	12	12	10	11
4	18	14	22	24	11	13
5	24	14	22	39	5	18
6 or more	59	62	28	36	20	40
<i>All Families</i>	69	106	95	91	79	76

TABLE XXX—APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY.  
A—Per 100 Households in Poverty in Each District

Cause	Inner Boroughs				Western Survey Area				All	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	North	South	North	South	North	South	Outer Boroughs	Full Time Week			
Old Age <sup>1</sup>	47	53	42	3	48	31			43	33	38
Illness or Incapacitation	7	6	5	1	4	1			3	9 <sup>a</sup>	6
Women (under 65) living alone <sup>a</sup>	17	20	12	1	9	10			10	10	10
No male adult earner			1	19	23	30			21	24 <sup>a</sup>	22
Casual work	4	8	5	0	3	6			5	5	5
Unemployment or short time <sup>a</sup>											
Natural head of family in full work											
Wages insufficient for 3 children <sup>a</sup>	2	5	9	10	7	17			9	5	7
1, 2 or 3 children	2	2	1	1	0				2	1	2
4 or more	14	0	5	1	1	0			7	12	9
Wages sufficient for 3 children <sup>a</sup>	100	100	100	100	100	100			100	100	100
4 or more											
Old Age <sup>1</sup>	10	31	6	1	71	15			20	40	23 <sup>b</sup>
Illness or Incapacitation	4	4	7	0	5	7			6	9 <sup>a</sup>	8
Women (under 65) living alone <sup>a</sup>	10	14	13	13	18	14			15	16 <sup>a</sup>	6
No male adult earner	1	3	2	7	3	0			4	1	3
Casual work	39	33	19	23	3	41			31	35	33
Unemployment or short time <sup>a</sup>											
Natural head of family in full work											
Wages insufficient for 3 children <sup>a</sup>	3	3	5	5	1	8			4	3	4
1, 2 or 3 children	1	2	2	1	0	1			1	1	1
4 or more	8	4	3	8	2	4			4	7	6
Wages sufficient for 3 children <sup>a</sup>	100	100	100	100	100	100			100	100	100
4 or more											

<sup>1</sup> One or two persons over 65 living by themselves

<sup>a</sup> No occupation stated in some cases

<sup>b</sup> In Vol III p 86, old persons living with younger were counted as incapacitated. Here they are transferred to "no male adult earner."

<sup>2</sup> Including cases of two or more women

<sup>a</sup> Dependent children up to 16 years are included

TABLE XX<sup>1</sup> (*continued*)  
 APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY  
*B*—Per 100 Persons

Cause	Western	Eastern	Whole	Western	Eastern	Whole
	Full Time Week			Week of Investigation		
Old Age	19½	14	16½	10	7	8½
Illness, incapacity or death of father, and other cases of no male earner	33½	39½	37	24	25	24½
Unemployment, short time or casual work	9½	7	8	47	44	48
Natural head of family in full work						
Wages insufficient for 3 children						
1, 2 or 3 children	13	9½	11	6	4½	5½
4 or more	5	4	4½	3	2	2½
Wages sufficient for 3 children						
4 or more	19½	26½	23	10	12½	11½
	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE XXXI  
EFFECT OF POOLING INCOMES.

	Full Time Week			Week of Investigation		
	Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area	Western Survey Area	Eastern Survey Area	Whole Survey Area
	Per 1,000 Families					
Below Poverty Line						
Pooled Incomes	52	63	57	87	110	98
Additional if not pooled	17	19	18	22	27	24
Above in any case	931	918	925	891	863	878
	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	Per 1,000 Persons of all Ages					
Below Poverty Line						
Pooled Incomes	40	52	46	75	107	91
Additions if not pooled						
Dependent Adult <sup>1</sup>	7	7	7	10	12	11
Dependent Children <sup>2</sup>	10	11	11	12	16	14
Earning Children	12	12	12	15	18	16
Above in any case	931	915	924	885	847	808
	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	Per 1,000 Children under 14 Years					
Below Poverty Line						
Pooled Incomes	56	74	65	110	157	131
Additional if not pooled	33	37	35	41	48	44
Above in any case	911	859	900	849	795	825
	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

<sup>1</sup> Includes parents, whether earning or not, but no children

<sup>2</sup> Includes children of all ages







## CHAPTER V

### COMPARISON WITH PROVINCIAL TOWNS

ALL the definitions used in the present House Sample Inquiry are closely in line with those used in 1924 in the investigations in Northampton, Warrington, Reading, Bolton (Lancashire) and the mining village Stanley in County Durham, which were published in 1925 under the title *Has Poverty Diminished?*

In 1929-30 an inquiry was undertaken by the Liverpool University School of Social Science as to social conditions on Merseyside, an area that included Liverpool, Bootle, Birkenhead, Wallasey and contiguous urban districts. Some of the results have been published in the *Journal* of the Royal Statistical Society, 1930 and 1931, and elsewhere, and it is intended to publish the results in book form in 1934. By the courtesy of Mr. Caradog Jones we are able to include some comparable figures. The definitions of a working-class family and of the minimum standard used were almost identical with those in the "New Survey."

During 1928-31 the University College, Southampton, took part in a Civic and Social Survey of that city. The latter part was directed by Mr. P. Ford, who has kindly communicated the results, which have not yet been published. Again the definitions were nearly identical, with some modifications in the assessment of income, which are noted below.

These investigations relate to different dates. Those made in 1924 were before the present serious increase in unemployment, though unemployment was much more prevalent than in the earlier inquiries of 1913.

On Merseyside in 1929-30 and in Southampton in 1931 the proportions of the working-class unemployed were considerably greater than in London during the period of the New Survey.

The towns are of very different sizes and depend on different industries, in some cases highly specialised. They have been affected by unemployment at different dates and in varying degrees.

The size and the constitution of the families show marked variations, and wage rates and rents are not the same. It is therefore useless to try to combine the figures into a conspectus of English industrial towns; it is important rather to realise that no generalisation is possible.

Table A shows the average working-class family in the different towns.<sup>1</sup> The relatively small number of earners in London may be due to the presence of a larger proportion of old people living alone (and counted as forming separate "families") than in other districts. The small number in Stanley is due to the scarcity of work for women in mining districts. No doubt the number of children per family was in 1930 lower than in 1924 in the towns investigated at that date.

Table B brings out the relatively small proportion in all the districts of families with large numbers of children living at home, and also the considerable variation from town to town. In Table C the high rents and small size of tenements in London are noticeable. In all the other towns the rents average less than 2s. 2d. a room.

The more interesting tables however are those that relate to the prevalence of Poverty.<sup>2</sup> It is seen in Table D that London has a smaller proportion than

<sup>1</sup> Particulars for Merseyside are lacking in some of the Tables and for Stanley in Table C.

<sup>2</sup> In Southampton, Public Assistance payments are included in family income, but this does not bring any significant proportion of the families above the poverty line. In computing the standard the food requirements for a boy aged 16 to 18 were taken as equal to a man's, instead of as 85 per cent. as in London. On the other hand, a man's minimum clothing expenses was put at 30s. instead of 60s. per annum.

Merseyside or Southampton. In most cases, even in 1924, the percentage in the week of investigation was nearly double that which would result if full-time wages were received.

In Table E the causes of poverty are classified under three broad headings. The first includes old age pensioners, widows with families, women living alone and cases of incapacitation or illness; the second includes all cases where poverty is due to unemployment, short time or intermittent work; in the third are the families where there is an adult male in full work but his wages are insufficient to support himself and his dependants. The relative importance of these three groups of causes is radically different from one town to another.

The first lines of the table relate only to the families in poverty. A line is added to show the proportions that the cases of men with insufficient rates of wages bear to all families.

While in Tables D and E the family is taken as the unit, Table F relates to persons. The lines of totals in Table F (all persons) agree fairly closely with the percentages of families "below standard" in Table D; in London persons give a lower percentage than do families, but in some of the towns the reverse is true.

The percentages of all women who live in families below the Poverty Line were in all towns greater than the corresponding percentages for men. In the week of investigation the percentages of all children who live in families below the Poverty Line were greater in all the towns than the corresponding percentages of the other groups distinguished; they amount to nearly a quarter on Merseyside, and nearly a fifth in Reading in 1924. It will be remembered, however (p. 91), that when old persons are taken separately in London, their percentage was higher than that of children.

Other comparisons can of course be made with the reports in *Has Poverty Diminished?* and will be possible with Merseyside and with Southampton when these investigations are published.

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## TABLES TO CHAPTER V

### TABLE A

#### THE AVERAGE WORKING-CLASS FAMILY

	London Survey Area 1929-30	South ampton 1931	North ampton 1924	Warring- ton 1924	Reading 1924	Bolton (Lancs) 1924	Stanley (Co Durham) 1923
<i>Earners</i>							
Men <sup>1</sup>	1 04	1 27	1 19	1 44	1 13	1 16	1 25
Women <sup>1</sup>	0 41	0 29	0 51	0 48	0 35	0 51	0 10
Boys	0 09	0 13	0 10	0 18	0 12	0 11	0 17
Girls	0 03	0 04	0 04	0 06	0 03	0 05	0 00
Total	1 57	1 73	1 84	2 16	1 63	1 83	1 52
<i>Non-Earners</i>							
Men <sup>1</sup>	0 07	0 08	0 07	0 06	0 09	0 07	0 07
Women <sup>1</sup>	0 88	1 06	0 96	1 14	1 09	0 92	1 29
Boys	0 02	{ 0 01 }	0 02	0 03	0 04	0 04	0 04
Girls	0 02		0 02	0 05	0 05	0 03	0 12
Children							
Aged 5 to 14	0 64	0 98	0 59	1 00	0 67	0 67	0 93
Under 5	0 28	0 37	0 34	0 45	0 34	0 28	0 53
Total	1 91	2 50	2 00	2 76	2 28	2 01	2 95
ALL PERSONS	3 48	4 23	3 84	4 92	3 91	3 84	4 50

<sup>1</sup> Men male over 15 Boys aged 14 to 18 Women females over 16 Girls aged 14 to 16

### TABLE B

#### WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

##### Percentages of all Working-Class Families

Number of Non- earning Children	London Survey Area 1929-30	South ampton 1931	North ampton 1924	Warring- ton 1924	Reading 1924	Bolton (Lancs) 1924	Stanley (Co Durham) 1923
0	51 8	37 7	50 6	33 2	48 4	51 8	29 9
1	21 9	24 3	22 6	23 7	21 5	18 8	23 6
2	13 5	15 2	14 3	18 9	14 2	14 4	21 6
3	6 8	9 5	7 0	11 1	9 2	8 4	12 7
4	14	6 5	2 8	7 4	3 9	4 2	6 4
5	1 7	1 8	1 9	1 2	1 3	1 9	3 2
6	0 6	1 1	0 4	1 7	1 2	0 3	2 0
7 or more	0 3	0 5	0 4	0 8	0 3	0 2	0 6

Total

<sup>1</sup> Dependent boys under 18 and girls under 16 are classified as children

TABLE C  
RENT OF WORKING-CLASS HOUSES CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF ROOMS.  
Median or Average<sup>1</sup>

Number of Rooms	London Survey Area		Liverpool <sup>2</sup> 1919		South ampton	North ampton	Warring ton	Reading	Bolton (Lancs.)							
	1929-30		Whole Houses	Part Houses	1931	1924	1924	1924	1924							
	s	d	s	d	s	d	d	s	d							
1	6	2	4	10	5	0	—	—	—							
2	9	10	5	10	6	5	8	11	5	10	4	6	4	7		
3	12	2	7	9	7	6	9	0	6	2	6	3	6	6	6	10
4	14	4	9	7	8	8	10	0	8	9	6	10	7	6	8	2
5	17	0	12	0	—	—	13	0	10	5	9	6	9	6	10	2
6	20	2	13	1	—	—	14	0	—	—	11	9	12	0	—	—
7	—	—	14	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	0	—	—
All	11	11	10	4	6	2	—	—	8	7	7	2	9	0	7	7
Average Num ber of Rooms	2.9		5.1		—	—	4.9		4.1		4.8		3.65			

<sup>1</sup> Average for London, median in other towns

<sup>2</sup> Excluding the rest of Merseyside

TABLE D  
WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES CLASSIFIED IN RELATION TO THE MINIMUM STANDARD  
Percentages of all Working-Class Families.

	London Survey Area 1929-30	Merseyside 1929-30	Liverpool Survey Area 1921	Southampton 1931	Northampton 1924	Warrington 1924	Reading 1924	Bolton (Lancs.) 1924	Stanley (Co. Durham) 1923
On Assumption of Full Time Income									
Above standard	93.8	90.5	—	—	97.5	95.5	89	97	93½
Marginal	0.5	—	—	—	0.5	1	3	1	—
Below standard	5.7	9.5	—	—	2.0	3.5	8	2	6½ <sup>1</sup>
	100	100	—	—	100	100	100	100	100
On Income in Week of Investigation									
Above standard	89.7	82.7	83.9	76.2	95	90.5	84.8	94	92½
Marginal	0.5	—	—	3.8 <sup>2</sup>	1	1.5	3.9	1	—
Below standard	9.8	17.3	16.1	20.0	4	8	11.3	5	7½
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> Includes all those below standard in week of investigation, except for reason of unemployment, i.e. includes those temporarily ill, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Families whose incomes were within 1s. of standard, above or below, were classed as marginal in Southampton.

# COMPARISON WITH PROVINCIAL TOWNS 117

TABLE E.

APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY IN WEEK OF INVESTIGATION.  
Percentages of all Families Below the Minimum Standard.

Causes	London Survey Area 1929-30	South ampton 1931	North ampton 1924	Warring- ton 1924	Reading 1924	Bolton (Lancs) 1924	Stanley (Co Durham), 1923
No male earner,							
old age, illness	53	17	44	21	43½	47	53
Unemployment	36	66	47	51	33	44	15
Male earner in full work insufficient income	11	17	9	28	23½	9	32
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage of all working class families in the Towns or Areas  
formed by those below standard where there was an adult male  
in full work.<sup>1</sup>

11 34 36 22 26 05 22

<sup>1</sup> The last line above applied to the percentage below standard in previous table

TABLL F

STRESS OF POVERTY ANALYSED BY AGE AND SEX

Percentages in Poverty of the Number of Persons in Each Group.  
Working-Class Only

	London Survey Area 1929	Mersey side 1930	South ampton 1931	North ampton 1924	War- rington 1924	Reading 1924	Bolton (Lancs) 1924	Stanley (Co Durham), 1923
On Assumption of Full Time Income								
Men <sup>1</sup>	29	—	—	11	16	44	15	—
Women <sup>1</sup>	53	—	—	15	24	59	16	—
Boys and Girls <sup>1</sup>	32	—	—	45	22	100	23	—
Children	65	—	—	43	75	145	21	—
All Persons	46	—	—	22	37	79	16	—
On Income in Week of Investigation								
Men <sup>1</sup>	68	— <sup>2</sup>	—	26	45	77	33	34
Women <sup>1</sup>	84	— <sup>2</sup>	—	30	55	96	35	67
Boys and Girls <sup>1</sup>	70	141	—	64	69	150	51	91
Children	130	245	—	80	142	199	71	108
All Persons	91	160	207	42	79	119	43	72

<sup>1</sup> In London, men over 20, women over 18 years

On Merseyside, men and women over 21 years

In other towns, men over 18, women over 16 years

<sup>2</sup> Data not available For all men and women aged 21 to 65 the percentage 130, for those above 65, 143





## PART II

# THE STREET SURVEY AND POVERTY MAPS

### CHAPTER VI

#### POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC GRADES

##### I

It is not necessary to repeat the detailed description of the object and methods of the Street Survey given in Chapter VII of Volume III. The methods, standards, and nomenclature employed in the survey of the Western Sector have been exactly those described in the above chapter. It need only therefore be recalled that the Street Survey resulted in a double classification of social and economic conditions (1) by persons and (2) by streets. For the former purpose the population living in private families was classified under the four headings "P" ("poverty"), "U" ("unskilled"), "S" ("skilled") and "M" (middle-class incomes). For the second purpose all streets, or sections of streets, were denominated by a series of colours ranging from blue (poverty) through purple and pink to red (middle-class incomes), according to the predominant grades of their inhabitants.

This scheme of street coloration, supplemented in appropriate cases by black or black stripes to show the presence of a degraded or criminal element, or by stripes of blue or red to indicate a mixture of grades, forms the

basis of the maps in Volume VII, which, together with the maps of the Eastern Survey Area already published in Volume IV, complete the maps of poverty and welfare for the whole of New Survey Area.

For reasons explained in Volume III neither the series of economic grades nor the scale of street coloration corresponds precisely with that employed by Charles Booth, but in both cases care has been taken to preserve the maximum of comparability which the changed circumstances permit.

## II

Before turning to the results of the Street Survey there are a few considerations to be borne in mind which have already been set out in Volume III, but which need to be re-stated in order that they may not be overlooked.

(1) Since the inquiries on which the classification is primarily based were mainly concerned with families with school children, the results need some qualification in applying them to the whole population living in private families. They are nevertheless directly comparable with Charles Booth's figures, since these were arrived at in a similar manner. It is therefore proposed in these chapters to follow the same method as that employed in Chapter VIII of Volume III, i.e. to begin by setting out the results obtained and comparing them with those arrived at by Charles Booth, and to consider in a subsequent section the qualification necessary to arrive at the actual number of persons in poverty at the date of the Survey.

(2) It is further to be understood that the whole of the Street Survey (like the House Sample Inquiry) relates to the condition of the population living in private families, who constitute 95 per cent. of the total population of the Survey Area. The conditions prevailing among the remaining 5 per cent. cannot be ascertained by these methods, and in applying the results to the entire population some correction may be necessary on this account. An endeavour is made on p. 146 to

arrive at a rough estimate of what this correction should be.

(3) It is very necessary in view of the great world depression, which was only just beginning when Volume I was published, to emphasise the fact that all the figures of the Street Survey, as also of the House Sample Inquiry, refer not to the present date, but to the conditions prevailing in 1929-30, i.e. forty years after the corresponding Survey was made by Charles Booth.

(4) The standards of social and economic grades employed in the Street Survey are not new standards framed to correspond with present notions of the meaning of poverty and well-being, but are adopted from Charles Booth's survey of forty years ago, without any change except that which is required by alterations in the power of money to purchase the necessities of life. This method has perforce been employed in order to ensure that we are comparing like with like, but it in no way implies lack of appreciation of the changes that have taken place during the forty years' interval in men's ideas of the minimum necessities of a civilised existence.

As was pointed out in Volume III, "in all historical comparisons the measuring rod must be tolerably uniform. . . . There has been no attempt to fix a level of present-day 'poverty' according to present-day ideas. The sole aim has been to apply Charles Booth's standard to present economic conditions."<sup>1</sup> It was further indicated in Volume III that if a higher standard of poverty had been employed the results of the comparison would not have been very different provided that the same standard had been used throughout.<sup>2</sup> So far as can be judged from the imperfect data available, this is equally true of the Western Area.

### III

The magnitude and complexity of the inquiry of which the results are summarised below will be realised

<sup>1</sup> Volume III, pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

when it is stated that the Western Survey Area includes no less than 14,000 streets or sections of streets, each of which had to be examined in detail, and a large number visited by officers of the Survey.<sup>1</sup>

These streets are inhabited by 2,987,000 persons living in private families, of whom 224,000 (7.5 per cent.) were recorded as living below the poverty line, 725,000 (24.3 per cent.) as belonging to an economic grade corresponding to that of the bulk of unskilled labourers; 1,351,000 (45.2 per cent.) to the grade of "skilled" artisans or workpeople with similar earnings; and 687,000 (23 per cent.) to grades in receipt of "middle-class" incomes. All these percentages show, what is indeed a matter of common knowledge, that, taken as a whole, there is a good deal less poverty and a great deal more wealth in the West than in the East of London.

Thus the poverty percentage for the Eastern Area was 12 as compared with 7.5 in the West, and the percentage of the "M" class was only 11 as compared with 23 in the West.

Probably the first impression made by these figures will be one of surprise, not that the West is richer than the East but that the difference between the percentages of poverty in the two areas is not greater. The answer is that the Western Survey Area is far more extensive than what is generally known as West London, and its eastern boundary both north and south of the Thames has been dictated by geographical rather than by economic considerations. Thus boroughs like Southwark and Finsbury, which are economically similar to the eastern areas immediately adjacent, are nevertheless included in the Western Survey Area, where they serve to raise the percentage of poverty. Moreover, as will be seen below, parts of a number of other boroughs in the Western Area (e.g. South Islington, North Lambeth and North Kensington) show a high degree of poverty and overcrowding. On the other hand, the Eastern

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Note on the position of the City, p. 130.

Survey Area includes boroughs like Lewisham and Stoke Newington, which are predominantly of a middle-class character. A comparison of the "West End" and "East End" in the narrower and more familiar connotation of the terms would yield much more striking differences. Thus in the five Western boroughs which to a predominant extent constitute the "West End"<sup>1</sup> the percentage of poverty is less than a third of that found in the four boroughs which form the inner ring of the Eastern Area, while the percentage of the M class is sixteen times as great.

#### IV

Passing from the general comparison between West and East, we have next to examine the crucial question how the conditions prevailing in the Western Area in 1929-30 compared with those found by Charles Booth forty years ago. This question is answered by the table on p. 124, which at the same time shows what the change of conditions has been for London as a whole, and also for each group of boroughs (inner and outer). For details see Table II, p. 133. A similar comparison cannot be made for the external boroughs separately, since they were not included in the Booth Survey.

As the figures arrived at in both inquiries were based primarily on an examination of the conditions prevailing in families with children of school age, it follows that the forty years' comparison remains valid, irrespective of any question how far the condition of this section was fully representative of the population as a whole.

The result of the comparison is to show that the diminution which has taken place in the forty years period in the percentage of the population living below the poverty line has been proportionately greater in the Western than in the Eastern Sector. The figures are summarised for groups of boroughs in the following condensed table:

<sup>1</sup> Westminster, Kensington, Marylebone, Chelsea, and Hampstead.

## THE STREET SURVEY

Groups of Boroughs	Percentage of Total Population in each Grade.						
	According to Street Survey (1929-30)			According to Charles Booth (1889-90)			
	P	U + S	M	P	L + S	M	
County of London, Eastern Sector							
Inner	16.8	80.4	2.8	39.5	55.7	4.8	
Outer	10.8	71.2	18.0	28.4	53.2	18.0	
Total	12.9	74.6	12.5	39	54.4	11.7	
County of London, Western Sector							
Inner	10.5	75.8	13.7	35.7	51.9	12.4	
Outer	7.2	69.4	23.4	26.7	49.4	23.9	
Total	7.8	70.6	21.6	29.1	50.0	20.9	
Whole County of London	9.6	72.0	18.4	37	51.5	17.8	
External Boroughs							
East	10.3	80.4	9.3	Not included in Charles Booth's Survey			
West	5.1	60.7	34.2				
Total	8.9	75.0	16.1				
Whole Survey Area							
East	12.0	76.7	11.3				
West	7.5	69.5	23.0				
Total	9.5	72.7	17.8				

It will be noted that the economic distribution by grades of the population of the whole Survey Area in 1929-30 was approximately the same as that of the population of the County of London, so that the question discussed in Volume III, in relation to the Eastern Survey Area, whether the proper area to compare with Charles Booth's results is the identical geographical area (i.e. the part within the County) or the whole Eastern Survey Area including the external boroughs, is of no practical importance in relation to London as a whole. Nor is the distinction of any very great moment in the case of the Western Survey Area taken separately. The figures show that the percentage of persons living in poverty in the Western Sector has declined from 29.1 to 7.8 (7.5 for the Western Area as a whole) a decrease of

not far off three-quarters. The corresponding decline in the Eastern Area was from 33·9 to 12·9 or 12 according to the area of comparison; i.e. by rather less than two-thirds.

Every borough in the Western Area shows a reduction of at least one half, but there is great variation in the proportionate decline. It has been greatest in Hampstead, Holborn, St. Marylebone, and Westminster, in each of which the percentage of poverty has sunk to less than one-fifth of its level in Charles Booth's time. In Chelsea, Wandsworth and Battersea it is between one-fourth and one-fifth of the Booth level. In the nine boroughs, Hammersmith, Southwark, Islington, Kensington, Paddington, Camberwell, South Lambeth, Finsbury and Fulham, the proportion is between one-third and one-quarter, i.e. not far from the average for the Western Area as a whole. Only in North Lambeth and St. Pancras is it more than one-third of the Booth level.

No doubt the complete transformation which has taken place in the poverty conditions of a few of the boroughs is largely connected with extensive slum clearances and rebuilding. This is certainly the case in Holborn and Westminster. At the other end of the scale is St. Pancras, where the decline of poverty has been proportionately least, i.e. to about two-fifths—a rate of decline comparable with that found for the Eastern Survey Area as a whole. Here the considerable clearances of slums in Somers Town and elsewhere which are now in progress came too late to have a material effect on the Street Survey results.

## V

All the above comparisons relate to the percentage of poverty in the whole population living in private families, irrespective of social grade, i.e. including the class "M" whose economic condition is superior to that of the working class.<sup>1</sup> The proportion borne by "M" class to the whole population, however, varies so very widely

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. III, pp. 105-6.

from borough to borough that a comparison limited to members of working-class families only will be found to yield appreciably different results.

The following table gives therefore a similar comparison excluding the "M" class:

Groups of Boroughs	Percentage of the Working-class Population in each Grade			
	According to Street Survey (1929-30)		According to Charles Booth (1889-90)	
	U + S		U + S	
County of London, Eastern Sector				
Inner	17.3	82.7	41.5	58.5
Outer	13.2	86.8	35.1	64.9
Total	14.~	85.3	38.4	61.6
County of London, Western Sector				
Inner	12.2	87.8	40.8	59.2
Outer	9.4	90.6	35.1	64.9
Total	9.9	90.1	36.8	63.2
Whole County of London	11.8	88.2	37.3	62.7
External Boroughs				
East	11.4	88.6	Not included in Charles Booth's Survey	
West	7.8	92.2		
Total	10.6	89.4		
Whole Survey Area				
East	13.5	86.5		
West	9.7	90.3		
Total	11.6	88.4		

The table shows that for the Western Sector of the County of London the percentage of working-class poverty has declined from 36.8, to 9.9, while in the



Eastern Sector it has fallen from 38·4 to 14·7. For the County of London as a whole the decline is from 37·3 to 11·8 per cent.

The trend indicated by these figures does not differ materially from that shown above for the whole population in private families including the "M" class. When, however, we look at the figures for particular boroughs we find very wide and significant differences. For example, in Kensington the percentage of the whole population living in poverty has fallen by 70 per cent. in forty years, whereas the percentage of working-class poverty has only fallen by 60 per cent. in the same period. There is here a large wealthy and middle-class population, side by side with a relatively small working-class element with a high poverty rate. In fact, the percentage of the working class below the poverty line in Kensington (14·8) is considerably higher than the average for the whole of London and nearly identical with that for the Eastern Sector of the County. It is indeed the highest percentage found in any borough in the Western Area—higher even than Southwark (13·9), Finsbury (13·6) or St. Pancras (13·4), which are the next three boroughs in order of working-class poverty.

If however the whole population be included the order is different, the highest percentage of poverty being now found in Southwark (13·5), closely followed by Finsbury (13·2) and then in order by St. Pancras (11·8), North Lambeth (11·6), Islington (9·6), Camberwell (8·2) and Battersea (8·1) all of which have higher poverty rates than Kensington (7·9), and are also above the average (7·5) for the whole Western Area.

On both bases Hampstead appears to be the borough with least poverty (1·4 per cent. of the whole population, or 3·5 per cent. of the working class). Acton comes next with 2·8 per cent. of the population and 3·9 of the working-class in poverty. After this the order is different according to the inclusion or exclusion of the middle-class population. Thus Westminster is third with 4·2 per cent. of population in poverty, but

the proportion of the working-class in poverty (7·1 per cent.) makes it rank sixth, i.e. after South Lambeth (6·6), Wandsworth (6·7), and Chelsea (6·9).

Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington, Battersea and Camberwell (in ascending order) form a central group with poverty percentages not differing by more than 1 per cent. from the mean for the whole Western Area.

## VI

According to Charles Booth's estimate the classes "G and H" (which correspond as nearly as may be to class "M" in the New Survey) included 18 per cent. of the population of London in 1889-90. In 1929-30 the Street Survey showed just the same percentage. In the Eastern Survey Area the percentage was 11 and in the Western Area 23, making an average of just under 18 per cent. for the whole Survey Area and rather more than 18 for the County of London.

In Volume III attention was called to the fact that in the Eastern Survey Area the proportion of the "M" class had not increased, in spite of the great diminution of poverty, and reasons were suggested for this stagnation notwithstanding the rise in standards of life; notably the outward migration of the more well-to-do families and the consequent decline in the social level of the population. The table on p. 133 shows that the same phenomenon is exhibited by the Western Area taken as a whole, though the centrifugal movement is here complicated and partially obscured by the existence of a counter current inwards towards certain West End boroughs near the centre. As a result there are variations from borough to borough, both in the proportions of the "M" class, and in the direction and amount of the change which has taken place in the last forty years. In several boroughs there have been striking increases in the "M" class element balanced by large decreases in others. In the Western Sector of the County of London as a whole the proportion of "M" has only risen by a fractional amount.

The Metropolitan boroughs with the highest percentages of the "M" class are Hampstead (60), Kensington (47), St. Marylebone (46), Holborn (42) and Westminster (41). In every one of these boroughs the "M" percentage has very largely increased since Charles Booth's time. In Holborn and Westminster it has more than doubled, and in St. Marylebone the rate of increase has not been much less. In Hampstead the "M" percentage has increased by three-quarters and in Kensington by more than one-half. For this group of boroughs taken as a whole the percentage of the "M" class has risen from 27 to 44 in the forty-year period. Smaller but substantial increases have taken place in Chelsea, Paddington and Battersea.

On the other hand, there are a number of areas in which the "M" class has largely declined, notably North Lambeth, Southwark, Hammersmith, Fulham and Islington, in each of which it has fallen to less than half, while in Camberwell and South Lambeth the decline has been almost as great.

It is therefore evident that the apparent stability in the proportion of the "M" class in the Western Survey Area as a whole is not the result of general stagnation, but of a shifting of the centres of the middle-class population, the redistribution resulting on balance in the maintenance of approximately the same proportion for the whole area.

In considering these figures it must always be remembered that as explained in Volume III<sup>1</sup> the social changes that have taken place in the past forty years have necessitated alterations in the criteria by which persons of the "M" class are distinguished, so that there is some doubt as to the precise comparability of Charles Booth's "G" and "H" classes with the present Class "M". The difference between the definition of Class "M" for the purpose of the Street Survey and that of the "middle class" in the House Sample Inquiry is discussed on p. 149.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 105-6.

## NOTE ON THE POSITION OF THE CITY

The City of London occupies a unique position, having a resident population of only 11,000 and a day population of not far from half a million. Such an area does not lend itself to the kind of investigation on which the results of the Street Survey or the House Sample Inquiry are based, and it would be misleading to colour the City streets according to the social condition of their handful of residents—largely caretakers and office keepers and their families. Accordingly, the City has been left blank in the map and the social condition of its few residents has not been investigated. Their exclusion results in a very slight under-estimate of the number of persons in poverty in the Western Survey Area, and the Survey Area as a whole. The omission however is of no consequence, as the resulting error is insufficient to affect any percentages calculated to two decimal places, or any estimates of total numbers rounded to the nearest thousand. It therefore makes no difference to the figures in the text.

It may be added that, unless the context otherwise requires, the expression "County of London" wherever used means the "Administrative County of London," i.e. it includes the City. The expression "Greater London" means the Metropolitan Police District together with the City.

## CHAPTER VI: TABLES

TABLE I

POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC GRADES (A) Numbers

Boroughs	Number of Persons in Private Families who belong to the Underventured Economic Grades				
	P	I	S	M	Total
<i>Inner North</i>					
Finsbury	9,100	30,900	26,600	2,100	68,700
Holborn	1,100	5,100	9,100	11,800	28,000
Westminster	4,100	14,700	42,100	42,300	103,400
Total	14,700	50,700	78,800	56,200	200,400
<i>Inner South</i>					
North Lambeth	15,100	57,000	5,600	7,000	129,700
Southwark	22,500	61,500	77,000	4,600	166,600
Total	37,600	118,500	122,600	11,600	290,300
Total Inner	52,300	179,200	201,400	67,800	490,700
<i>Outer North (Group I)</i>					
Fulham	13,600	35,100	75,400	23,500	147,600
Hammer-smith	9,200	13,100	69,500	15,100	107,900
Islington	24,500	4,100	101,300	23,200	153,100
St Pancras	2,100	1,100	85,500	21,500	110,200
Total	49,400	53,400	231,700	63,300	397,800
<i>Outer North (Group II)</i>					
Chelsea	2,400	13,400	22,100	16,400	54,300
Hampstead	1,100	2,000	4,000	47,000	54,100
Kensington	12,500	77,000	44,800	74,200	208,500
Paddington	7,500	21,400	52,700	44,600	126,200
St Marylebone	3,000	12,400	24,700	39,000	79,100
Total	26,500	126,200	147,300	221,200	501,200
<i>Outer South</i>					
Battersea	12,700	55,500	66,300	22,200	156,700
Camberwell	27,100	61,800	122,200	20,800	231,900
South Lambeth	8,300	20,000	57,400	28,000	113,700
Wandsworth	14,500	54,500	147,400	113,700	329,100
Total	62,600	191,800	393,300	184,700	732,400
Total Outer	111,900	319,000	595,000	248,000	1,273,900
TOTAL WESTERN SECTION	206,500	603,200	1,204,400	573,000	2,587,100
<i>External Boroughs</i>					
Acton	1,000	16,300	30,300	19,100	66,700
Hornsey	4,800	9,700	24,700	52,300	91,500
Willesden	10,500	35,800	86,600	43,100	176,000
Total	16,300	61,800	141,600	114,500	334,200
TOTAL WESTERN SURVEY AREA	222,800	665,000	1,346,000	687,500	2,921,300

## THE STREET SURVEY

TABLE I (continued)

## POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC GRADES (B) Percentages

Boroughs	Percentage of Persons in Private Families who belong to the Undermentioned Economic Grades				Total
	P	L	S	M	
<i>Inner North</i>					
Finsbury	11.2	45.0	18.7	3.1	100
Holborn	4.6	18.2	35.0	42.2	100
Westminster	4.2	14.2	40.7	40.9	100
Total	7.4	25.3	30.2	28.1	100
<i>Inner South</i>					
North Lambeth	11.6	44.0	39.0	5.4	100 to
Southwark	13.5	37.5	46.2	7.8	100 the
Total	12.7	40.3	42.1	3.9	100 the
Total Inner	10.5	34.3	41.5	13.7	100
<i>Outer North (Group I)</i>					
Fulham	7.2	23.8	51.1	15.9	100
Hammer-smith	7.2	26.1	54.8	11.9	100
Islington	9.6	28.9	52.4	9.1	100
St Pancras	11.8	29.3	47.1	11.8	100
Total	9.2	27.6	51.7	11.5	100
<i>Outer North (Group II)</i>					
Chelsea	4.5	19.5	41.5	34.5	100
Hampstead	1.4	8.7	30.4	59.5	100
Kensington	7.9	17.0	28.3	46.8	100
Paddington	6.2	16.9	41.7	35.2	100
St Marylebone	4.6	15.1	34.7	45.6	100
Total	5.5	15.6	34.5	44.4	100
<i>Outer South</i>					
Battersea	8.1	35.4	42.3	14.2	100
Camberwell	8.2	25.9	51.8	12.1	100
South Lambeth	5.4	19.0	57.3	18.3	100
Wandsworth	4.4	16.6	44.6	34.4	100
Total	6.3	22.9	48.9	21.9	100
Total Outer	7.2	22.9	46.5	23.4	100
TOTAL WESTERN SECTOR	7.8	25.0	45.6	21.6	100
<i>External Boroughs</i>					
Acton	2.8	24.1	44.8	28.3	100
Hornsey	5.2	10.6	27.0	57.2	100
Willesden	6.0	20.3	49.2	24.5	100
Total	5.1	18.4	42.3	34.2	100
TOTAL WESTERN SURVEY AREA	7.5	24.3	45.2	23.0	100

TABLE II

## POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC GRADES IN BOROUGHs IN THE WESTERN SURVEY AREA.

*New Street Survey Results 1920-30 compared with those of Charles Booth 1889-90*

Boroughs	According to New Survey			According to Charles Booth <sup>1</sup>		
	Percentage of the Total Population in each Grade					
	P	L + S	M	P	L + S	M
<b>Inner North</b>						
Finsbury	13.2	83.7	3.1	18.2	46.4	4.7
Holborn	4.0	31.2	4.4	35.7	46.1	16.9
Westminster	4.2	54.1	47.9	4.5	55.6	19.9
Total	7.4	14.5	28.1	53.1	51.7	25.2
<b>Inner South</b>						
North Lambeth	11.6	51.0	5.4	22.1	54.7	13.2
Southwark	13.5	83.7	2.8	43.4	50.2	6.4
Total	12.7	63.4	3.7	37.5	52.1	9.4
<b>Total Inner</b>	10.5	77.4	13.7	37.7	51.9	12.4
<b>Outer North (Group I)</b>						
Fulham	7.2	1.9	15.7	25.4	42.4	32.2
Hammersmith	1.2	50.1	11.1	22.6	35.1	41.3
Islington	1.1	84.3	1.1	3.4	47.6	20.0
St. Pancras	11.8	74.4	21.2	2.4	54.4	15.2
Total	7.2	74.3	11.5	22.2	47.1	22.2
<b>Outer North (Group II)</b>						
Chelsea	4.5	61.0	14.5	12.3	53.8	27.0
Hampstead	1.4	31.1	59.5	15.5	52.5	34.0
Kensington	7.2	47.3	46.5	2.2	42.1	30.8
Paddington	1.2	54.8	35.2	1.5	55.0	23.5
St. Marylebone	4.6	47.5	45.6	22.5	49.0	23.5
Total	5.5	50.1	44.4	21.7	49.0	27.3
<b>Outer South</b>						
Battersea	5.1	77.7	14.2	33.5	57.0	9.5
Camden	8.2	79.7	12.1	27.0	47.2	22.2
South Lambeth	5.1	79.3	18.3	16.5	50.1	31.4
Wandsworth	4.4	61.2	31.4	19.5	46.7	31.8
Total	10.3	71.5	21.1	21.0	51.2	22.6
<b>Total Outer</b>	7.2	12.4	21.4	21.7	49.4	23.9
<b>TOTAL WESTERN SECTOR</b>	17.7	70.6	16.6	21.1	50.0	20.2
<b>External Boroughs</b>						
Acton	5.2	68.2	25.3	—	—	—
Hornsey	5.2	37.6	55.2	—	—	—
Willesden	6.0	69.5	24.5	—	—	—
Total	5.2	60.7	34.2	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL WESTERN SURVEY AREA</b>	7.5	60.5	23.0	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> The present Boroughs which were created in 1890 are in some cases coterminous with the previously existing Registration Districts. For such boroughs figures are taken from *Life and Labour*, Vol. II (first series), Appendix Table II. For Boroughs which are not coterminous with Registration Districts figures covering the Borough areas have been compiled from the "School Board Blocks" shown in Appendix, Table I of the same volume.

## CHAPTER VII

### STREET DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY AND WELL-BEING

#### I

WE now pass to the classification of the streets of the Western Survey Area according to the predominant social and economic grades of their inhabitants. This classification is presented in visual shape in the Maps which constitute Volume VII, and the main results are summarised in statistical form in Table I on p. 142, which shows the number and proportion of the population of every borough living in streets of each colour.

For the whole of the Western Survey Area the table shows that 37,000 persons (1.2 per cent.) lived in blue streets, 132,000 (4.4 per cent.) in purple streets with a blue stripe, 656,000 (22 per cent.) in purple streets, 1,236,000 (41.4 per cent.) in pink streets, 221,000 (7.4 per cent.) in pink streets with red stripe, and 706,000 (23.6 per cent.) in red streets.

It is clear from these figures that in the Western, as in the Eastern Area, the number of persons classed as living in poverty is very greatly in excess of the number of residents in streets coloured blue. The total number of persons living in blue streets in the Western Survey Area was less than one-fifth of the total number of persons in poverty, a proportion practically identical with that shown by the Eastern Survey Area. It follows that the great majority of persons living in poverty are dispersed in streets in which they form a minority of the inhabitants. This is true of every borough in the



Western Area, though the disproportion varies very greatly, being least in Kensington where the inhabitants of blue streets number 6,800 or more than half of the total persons living in poverty. This suggests that poverty in Kensington is of a congested type limited to a particular poverty-stricken area, and this is well known to be the case, and is evident from the poverty maps. At the other end of the scale are Holborn, Westminster, Hammersmith, Chelsea, Hampstead, Paddington, Acton and Hornsey, which contain no blue streets though in the aggregate they have a population of 33,000 classed as "P."

For the London Survey Area as a whole the number living in blue or black streets was 96,000, and the number below the poverty line 508,000, a proportion of less than 1 in 5. This is a great contrast to the conditions prevailing forty years earlier, when Charles Booth recorded 750,000 persons living in blue or black streets, viz. considerably more than half the total number (1,300,000) living in poverty in the County of London.

These figures show that since Charles Booth's time the proportionate decrease of the population of blue streets has been three times as great as the decline of the number of persons living in poverty. This is true not only of London as a whole but of both the Western and Eastern Survey Areas taken separately. It affords striking evidence that on the whole such poverty as persists is less congested and more dispersed than in Charles Booth's day.

## II

In the Western Survey Area the population of streets coloured purple with a blue stripe, as indicating the presence of a considerable minority of residents below the poverty line, was more than three times as great as the population of blue streets (viz. 132,000 compared with 37,000). The proportion in the Eastern Area was roughly similar.

For the Survey Area as a whole the aggregate popula-

tion of streets coloured either blue or purple with a blue stripe was 464,000, which does not differ greatly from the total number shown to be living in poverty, though, as will be seen below, the individuals included in the two totals are by no means identical.

In Volume III a comparison is given for groups of boroughs in the Eastern Survey Area in a table on p. 137. The following summary table gives the corresponding particulars for the Western Survey Area:

Group of Boroughs.	Population Classified as P in the New Survey.	Population of Streets coloured Blue or Purple with Blue Stripe in the New Survey.
	000's.	000's.
Inner:		
North . . . . .	15	18
South. . . . .	38	25
Total . . . . .	52	43
Outer:		
North (Group I) . . . . .	71	54
North (Group II) . . . . .	28	23
South. . . . .	56	43
Total . . . . .	154	119
External Boroughs. . . . .	17	7
Total Western Survey Area . . . . .	224	169
Total Eastern Survey Area . . . . .	285	295
Whole Survey Area . . . . .	508	464

The fact brought out by this table is that in the Eastern Survey Area the residents in blue or blue striped streets outnumber the persons recorded as living below the poverty line, whereas in the West the reverse is the case. This suggests that, on the whole, poverty in the West is not only less in proportion but is more scattered and less highly localised than in the East—a conclusion which an inspection of the poverty maps confirms.

A marked exception however is presented by the borough of Finsbury which, as already stated, is in many respects more akin to the adjacent Eastern Boroughs than to its Western neighbours. In this small borough there were in 1929 no fewer than 14,000 persons (a fifth of the total population) residing in blue or blue striped streets—a number exceeding by over 50 per cent. the total number of persons living below the poverty line. In Kensington, Islington and Battersea the two numbers were roughly balanced, but all the other boroughs of the Western Area showed dispersion rather than concentration of poverty, though in varying degrees.

### III

The figures discussed above are "over-all" figures, comparing the total number of residents (of whatever economic grades) in "poor" streets, with the total number of "poor" persons (wherever residing). The resulting proportion affords a rough but useful index of the degree of concentration or dispersion of poverty.

A more complete and minute analysis is afforded by the cross-classification of persons residing in streets of different colours, and persons belonging to different economic grades. Such a cross-classification is given in Tables II (A) and II (B), pp. 144-5, which apply to the Western Survey Area, and to the whole Survey Area respectively. A corresponding table for the Eastern Survey Area was given on p. 135 of Volume III.

The figures show that in the Western Survey Area in 1929 about three-fifths of the inhabitants of blue streets were classed as falling below the poverty line—almost exactly the same proportion as that for the Eastern Survey.

It also appears that of the total number of persons below the poverty line in the Western Area hardly more than one in ten were living in blue streets, and not quite one in six in purple streets with blue line, i.e. only about a quarter of the whole number were in poor

(i.e. blue or blue-striped) streets. Most of the remaining three-quarters were divided between purple and pink streets (in roughly equal proportions), while an appreciable number (about one-thirteenth of the whole) were found scattered among red or red striped streets.

The degree of dispersion of poverty indicated by these figures is materially greater in the West than in the East, where considerably more than a third of the "P" population were found in poor streets (i.e. streets coloured or striped with blue), and only one in 24 in red or red striped streets.

It is not possible to make any comparison on this basis with the London of Charles Booth's day, as he did not publish any cross-analysis of grades and street colours, and moreover there has been a change in the significance of the colour purple. The figures given above, however, confirm the conclusions already given as to the relative degrees of congestion and diffusion of poverty in West and East at the present day.

#### IV

Passing to the next economic grade ("U"), we find that in the Western Survey Area 54 per cent. of the members of this grade dwelt in purple streets, and 58 per cent. of the inhabitants of purple streets belonged to the "U" grade.

The remaining 46 per cent. of persons of the "U" grade included 12 per cent. in streets coloured blue or purple striped with blue, 28 per cent. in pink streets and 6 per cent. in streets coloured or striped with red. This distribution does not differ very notably from that found in the Eastern Survey Area, where about 56 per cent. of "U" persons were in purple streets (of the population of which they formed 60 per cent.); 20 per cent. in streets coloured blue or purple with blue stripe; 20 per cent. in pink streets; and the remainder in streets coloured red or pink with red stripe.

The grade "S" (Charles Booth's "F") shows a good deal more local concentration than the two lower social

grades, two-thirds of its members being found in pink streets, in which they form not far short of three-quarters of the inhabitants.

Still more marked concentration is shown by the "M" class of whom more than four-fifths live in red streets, where they also form four-fifths of the population.

As regards the grades "S" and "M," the degree of concentration in the Eastern Survey Area was a good deal less than in the West, which suggests that in the Western Survey Area there is not only more dispersion of poverty but also more local concentration of the well-to-do classes than in the Eastern Sector.

## V

That there is a fairly close correlation between the degree of poverty in a district and the intensity of its local concentration, and that the same is true of well-being, is suggested not only by a comparison between the Western and Eastern Survey Areas as a whole, but by an examination of the figures for individual boroughs. The three poorest inner districts in the Western Sector are Southwark, Finsbury and North Lambeth. The three West End boroughs with the lowest indices of poverty are Hampstead, Westminster, and Chelsea.

The facts for these two groups are set forth below:

	Three Poor Boroughs.	Three Rich Boroughs.
Number of "P" . . . . .	46,500	8,800
Number of residents in streets coloured or striped with blue . . . . .	49,000	4,300
Number of "P" residing in above streets .	13,700	700
Percentage of "P" who reside in blue or blue striped streets . . . . .	30	8
Number of "M" . . . . .	13,700	107,700
Number of residents in streets coloured or striped with red . . . . .	22,200	129,000
Number of "M" residing in above streets	5,900	104,500
Percentage of "M" in red or red striped streets . . . . .	43	97

Thus while in the poor and rich boroughs alike there

is a higher degree of concentration of the "M" than of the "P" class, it also appears that in the poor boroughs the degree of concentration of poverty is nearly four times as great as in the wealthy boroughs, while conversely the concentration of the well-to-do class is less than half as great.

## VI

Though, taking the Western Area as a whole, poverty is less locally concentrated and more intermixed with other grades than in the East, there are still scattered over the Western Sector a number of centres or nuclei of poverty comparable in character and origin, though not in frequency or magnitude, with those to which attention was called in Volume III.<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that in the Eastern Survey Area it was found that in many cases these centres of poverty and degradation are "districts where the free circulation of population is impeded by some physical obstacles such as railway embankments, canals or other waterways, gasworks or similar great industrial premises."

A striking example of the same phenomenon is found in Islington, where there is a very marked patch of poverty (including the degraded Queensland Street), in a sharp angle enclosed by two railway lines, just to the north-east of the Holloway Road. In North Kensington a poor and overcrowded district (including Southam Street and Bosworth Road) is isolated by the Grand Junction Canal on the north, a railway on the south and gasworks on the west. In Southwark there is a small poverty area between Bankside and Sumner Street, jammed between an electric power station and business premises.

Other examples might be quoted, but on the whole these artificial impediments to free circulation resulting in "pockets" of poverty and degradation are less important in the west than in the east. It is to be hoped that the prosecution of a systematic policy of slum

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 138-41.

clearance will result in further dispersion, which, though incidentally widening the area over which the slum dwellers spread themselves, offers the only hope of diminishing and ultimately extinguishing the evils arising from congestion.

How long, however, the "slum habit" may in certain circumstances persist is illustrated by the fact that traces of the clearance in connection with the building of St. Pancras Station still appear to survive in a well marked patch of poor streets in Highgate, off Dartmouth Park Hill, to which a number of the displaced families were transferred seventy years ago.

## CHAPTER VII: TABLES

TABLE I

POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY COLOUR OF STREET. (*A*) *Numbers.*

Boroughs	Number of Persons in Private Families living in Streets of the Undermentioned Colours						Total Persons living in Private Families
	Blue	Purple with Blue Strips	Purple	Pink	Pink with Red Strips	Red	
<i>Inner North</i>							
Finsbury	3,500	10,700	27,700	20,400	3,600	800	68,700
Holborn	—	1,100	3,700	8,200	2,000	1,900	18,000
Westminster	—	2,600	11,800	33,500	5,000	50,500	103,400
Total	3,500	14,400	43,200	62,100	10,600	64,200	200,000
<i>Inner South</i>							
North Lambeth	2,400	5,300	53,600	47,500	9,500	2,400	129,700
Southwark	3,100	11,000	70,100	70,000	3,900	2,100	116,600
Total	5,500	19,500	123,700	117,500	13,400	4,500	296,600
<i>Total Inner</i>	9,000	33,900	176,900	179,600	24,000	68,700	496,600
<i>Outer North (Group I)</i>							
Fulham	1,500	4,300	21,400	80,100	12,900	2,100	147,600
Hammer-smith	—	2,500	34,600	64,600	9,700	15,500	126,900
Islington	7,100	22,500	101,400	131,400	17,100	21,700	315,200
St Pancras	2,700	13,000	47,900	52,200	11,000	21,100	187,400
Total	11,300	42,300	205,300	338,300	51,600	80,400	767,400
<i>Outer North (Group II)</i>							
Chelsea	—	1,600	7,100	20,300	1,500	2,400	53,300
Hampstead	—	100	4,700	11,300	8,100	54,200	79,000
Kensington	6,800	5,500	24,400	20,300	5,100	86,500	158,500
Paddington	—	6,100	2,200	12,500	5,700	50,000	126,500
St. Marylebone	500	2,000	13,200	21,500	4,700	43,400	85,500
Total	7,300	15,300	71,600	126,100	25,600	269,600	502,800
<i>Outer South</i>							
Battersea	3,200	9,700	46,500	61,600	9,600	15,800	156,700
Camden Hill	2,900	13,300	57,600	129,600	18,200	24,100	245,700
South Lambeth	200	1,000	15,200	86,600	16,400	29,300	152,700
Wandsworth	2,000	8,700	32,700	141,700	36,700	105,000	336,400
Total	8,100	33,700	162,300	419,500	81,900	177,200	885,500
<i>Total Outer</i>	19,400	71,300	444,200	799,000	160,700	422,100	2,155,700
<i>TOTAL WESTERN SECTOR</i>	30,500	125,200	619,400	1,095,500	184,800	590,700	2,652,100
<i>External Boroughs</i>							
Acton	—	500	12,600	32,600	5,100	16,800	67,600
Hornsey	—	4,300	3,900	15,200	10,100	98,000	91,500
Willesden	200	2,400	20,200	92,400	20,600	49,200	176,000
Total	200	7,200	36,700	140,200	35,800	115,000	335,100
<i>TOTAL WESTERN SURVEY AREA</i>	36,700	132,400	656,100	1,235,700	220,600	705,700	2,987,200



TABLE I (continued)  
POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY COLOUR OF STREET. (B) Percentages.

Percentage of Persons in Private Families living in Streets of the  
Undesignated Colours

Boroughs	Blue	Purple with Blue Stripes	Purple	Pink	Pink with Red Stripes	Red	Total Persons living in Private Families
<b>Inner North</b>							
Finsbury	5.1	15.5	43.2	29.7	5.3	1.2	100
Holborn	—	3.9	13.2	21.3	7.9	45.7	100
Westminster	—	2.5	11.4	32.4	4.9	48.0	100
Total	1.6	7.2	22.6	31.0	5.4	32.0	100
<b>Inner South</b>							
North Lambeth	1.8	6.4	41.0	36.6	7.3	1.9	100
Southwark	1.9	6.7	42.2	45.1	3.3	1.3	100
Total	1.9	6.6	43.0	41.7	4.5	1.5	100
<b>Total Inner</b>	1.8	6.9	35.3	37.1	4.9	13.8	100
<b>Outer North (Group I)</b>							
Fulham	1.0	2.2	11.5	51.1	29.4	11.5	100
Hammersmith	—	2.0	27.3	50.1	7.0	12.2	100
Islington	2.3	7.2	32.5	43.8	5.0	8.6	100
St. Pancras	1.5	7.2	27.8	35.5	6.2	11.8	100
Total	1.5	5.1	22.4	42.4	6.7	13.5	100
<b>Outer North (Group II)</b>							
Chelsea	—	3.0	13.3	35.1	22.8	42.5	100
Hampton	—	0.1	5.9	15.1	10.3	68.6	100
Kensington	4.3	1.5	15.4	18.5	2.4	54.0	100
Paddington	—	1.5	17.5	33.1	1.5	31.1	100
St. Marylebone	0.6	2.3	15.5	25.1	5.2	51.5	100
Total	1.5	3.6	11.5	25.1	5.1	53.1	100
<b>Outer South</b>							
Battersea	2.0	6.2	36.3	31.5	6.1	10.1	100
Camden	1.2	1.4	3.4	5.6	7.4	5.5	100
South Lambeth	0.1	1.5	10.0	56.7	7.7	13.2	100
Wandsworth	0.5	2.0	1.1	12.1	11.1	32.7	100
Total	1.0	3.2	15.4	47.4	25.5	20.0	100
<b>Total Outer</b>	1.3	4.2	20.0	42.2	7.5	24.2	100
<b>TOTAL WESTERN SECTOR</b>	1.4	4.7	23.4	31.3	7.0	22.2	100
<b>External Boroughs</b>							
Acton	—	0.7	15.6	18.2	7.6	24.9	100
Hornsey	—	4.7	4.3	16.0	11.0	63.4	100
Willesden	0.1	1.4	11.5	52.5	11.7	22.8	100
Total	0.1	2.1	11.0	41.5	10.7	34.3	100
<b>TOTAL WESTERN SURVEY AREA</b>	1.2	4.4	22.0	41.4	7.4	23.6	100

## THE STREET SURVEY

TABLE II (A)  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS IN EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN PRIVATE FAMILIES IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR IN THE WESTERN SURVEY AREA.

Colour of Street.	Number of Persons.				Total.	Percentage.				
	P	L.	S.	M.		P	U.	S.	M.	Total.
Blue . . . . .	22,540	11,100	2,910	150	36,700	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.0	1.2
Purple with Blue Stripe	33,110	71,660	26,580	1,050	132,400	1.1	2.4	0.9	0.0	4.4
Purple . . . . .	76,170	379,390	193,610	6,930	656,100	2.6	12.7	6.5	0.2	22.0
Pink . . . . .	74,510	217,800	884,290	59,100	1,235,700	2.5	7.3	29.6	2.0	41.4
Pink with Red Stripe	9,160	19,310	138,150	53,780	220,600	0.3	0.6	4.6	1.9	7.4
Red . . . . .	8,210	25,740	105,200	566,490	705,700	0.3	0.9	3.5	18.9	23.6
Total . . . . .	223,700	725,000	1,351,000	627,500	2,987,200	7.5	24.3	45.2	23.0	100.0

TABLE II (B)  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS IN EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN PRIVATE FAMILIES IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR IN THE WHOLE SURVEY AREA.

Colour of Street	Number of Persons				Percentage.					
	P	U.	S.	M.	Total	P.	U.	S.	M.	Total
Blue . . . . .	57,490	30,410	7,110	390	95,400	1.1	0.6	0.1	0.0	1.8
Purple with Blue Stripe	100,730	204,830	60,630	2,910	369,100	1.9	3.8	1.1	0.1	6.9
Purple . . . . .	176,160	798,190	353,790	11,760	1,341,900	3.3	14.9	6.6	0.2	25.0
Pink . . . . .	144,810	368,100	1,632,330	107,660	2,252,900	2.7	6.8	30.5	2.0	42.0
Pink with Red Stripe.	16,430	30,530	233,040	108,600	388,600	0.3	0.6	4.3	2.0	7.2
Red . . . . .	12,680	38,940	142,800	723,680	918,100	0.2	0.7	2.7	13.5	17.1
Total . . . . .	508,300	1,471,000	2,429,700	957,000	5,366,000	9.5	27.4	45.3	17.8	100

## CHAPTER VIII

### ADJUSTMENTS AND COMPARISONS

#### I

It has already been observed that the figures of the Street Survey relate solely to persons living in private families, who constitute 95 per cent. of the population of London. The remaining 5 per cent. who at the time of the Census were living in hotels, boarding-schools, lodging-houses or institutions of various types are very unequally distributed over the Survey Area. The Eastern Area only accounts for 70,000, or less than 3 per cent. of its inhabitants, while the Western Area has 217,000 or not far short of 7 per cent. of its total population. The difference is mainly accounted for by the much larger number of residents in hotels, lodging-houses, etc. (140,000 in the Western Area compared with 20,000 in the East). No less than half of these are found in six boroughs, viz. Westminster, Kensington, Paddington, St. Pancras, Holborn and St. Marylebone. The whole of the hotel population, and most of the inmates of lodging-houses (other than those of the type of Common Lodging-Houses) are probably above the poverty line. It is however difficult to do more than guess the proportion of other sections of the non-private family population who are below the poverty line. An attempt however was made in Volume III to make some kind of rough estimate, on a basis explained in a statistical note.<sup>1</sup> The estimate was that a total of something like 20,000 to 25,000 persons, or round about

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. III, Note E, p. 453.

one-third of the population not living in private families, were below the poverty line in 1929. The application of similar methods to the much greater non-private family population of the Western Area, with its very different composition and much higher hotel element, naturally yields a very different proportion. The total number of persons in the Western Area, not in private families, who were living in poverty, works out at between 30,000 and 35,000, or about 15 per cent. of the total—a percentage not quite half of that found for the Eastern Area.

It must be admitted that the data are not at all precise, but we shall not incur any great risk of error in estimating that the inclusion of the non-private family population would raise the ascertained percentage of poverty in the Western Area by about one-fifteenth.

## II

We are now in a position to estimate the qualifications necessary in order to make the results of the Street Survey, as given in the tables and quoted in the preceding paragraphs, applicable to the whole London population whether living in private families or not.

There are two qualifications to be considered.

(1) It will be recalled that the Street Survey was primarily based, like that of Charles Booth, on an examination of the condition of members of families with children of school age. As pointed out in Volume III,<sup>1</sup> and as was recognised by Charles Booth, this method tends slightly to exaggerate the percentage of poverty in the whole community, since the greater scale of needs of families with school children causes the average percentage of poverty among members of these families to exceed that in the whole working-class population.

The Street Survey itself does not afford the means of measuring the degree of this exaggeration, but the House Sample Inquiry showed that in the Eastern Survey Area it was substantial, and though in the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 121 and 145.

Western Area it appears to be a good deal less, the table on p. 87 indicates that over the London Area as a whole the rate of poverty in working-class families with school children exceeded that for the whole working-class community by about one-sixth.

If we apply this adjustment to the percentage of poverty (9.5) shown in the tables for the London Survey Area as a whole it is reduced to 8.1. A similar process reduces the percentage of working-class poverty from 11.6 to 9.8. We thus arrive at the amended total of 435,000 persons living in private families below the poverty line.

(2) To these, however, have to be added an estimated number of 50,000 to 60,000 persons in poverty, who are not living in private families, giving a final total of between 485,000 and 495,000 (say 490,000) persons in poverty, including persons living in all grades and types of families or outside family life. This final total is 8.7 per cent. of the total population of the London Survey Area.

For the Western Survey Area the final total of persons in poverty, after making all necessary adjustments, may be estimated at between 220,000 and 230,000, which is practically the same figure as that given in the tables. In this case the results of including families without children and also persons not living in private families cancel one another. The final total represents just over 7 per cent. of the whole population of the Western Area. In view of the irregular distribution and very heterogeneous character of the non-private family population it would be unsafe to apply a proportional adjustment to the figures for individual boroughs.

### III

It remains to consider how the results of the Street Survey compare with those arrived at by the House Sample, a point already referred to briefly in Volume III in relation to the Eastern Area, but postponed for more detailed discussion when the results of the two inquiries

should be completed for the whole of the London Area.

The House Sample was drawn from working-class families only, excluding the "middle class" as defined for the purpose of that inquiry,<sup>1</sup> and also excluding persons not living in private families. It yields two results : one for the week of investigation, and the other for a week of full earnings.

The Street Survey extended to the whole population irrespective of social grade living in private families, but was primarily based on families with children of school age. Members of the "M" class as defined for the purpose of the Street Survey are shown separately in the tables. The dates when the two inquiries were made were not appreciably different. Consequently the results obtained by the two methods, for the week of investigation, should be fairly comparable so far as concerns *the proportion of poverty found among members of working-class families with children of school age.*

For the whole Survey Area these proportions were 11.6 per cent. according to the Street Survey, and 10.7 per cent. according to the House Sample inquiry. The excess of one-twelfth is not great, considering the inevitable roughness of the estimates, but it is to be noted that a difference in the same direction though of variable amount is found in each Sector of the Survey Area, in every group of boroughs, and in most, though not all, of the boroughs. It cannot therefore be due to chance, but must be ascribed to some cause or causes operating throughout the Survey Area. It is probable that the observed difference is the net result on balance of a number of factors, the more important of which are enumerated below.

(a) The effect of the imperfect pooling of family incomes on the position of the poverty line in the House Sample inquiry is discussed on pp. 99-100. It is there pointed out that "the income of the family has been taken as the unit, that is, it has been assumed that the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 31.

earnings of all its members have been available for meeting the joint minimum needs." It is recognised that this assumption does not correspond to reality without much qualification. It is calculated that if the opposite hypothesis had been adopted, i.e. that "the earning children had not contributed more than enough for their own minimum needs," the result would have been to increase the percentage of persons in poverty, in the week of investigation, by more than one-fourth, or more than three times as much as the average difference between the results of the two inquiries. Of course this assumption is also far from the reality, and the truth is somewhere between the two extremes. It is probable, however, that the imperfect pooling of family incomes, if it stood by itself, would be more than sufficient to bridge the gap between the results of the Street Survey and the House Sample.

(b) The House Sample calculates the rate of poverty in the week of investigation on the basis that each week stands by itself and that a temporary cessation of earning power would at once cause poverty, irrespective of any savings from previous weeks' earnings. This is an artificial assumption which does not wholly correspond to facts. It was indicated in Volume III<sup>1</sup> that in 1929 two out of five of the members of families whose chief earner was unemployed were in fact above the poverty line. We need therefore to qualify the impression given by the figures for the week of investigation taken by themselves, by reference to those also given for a week of full employment thus eliminating the effects of unemployment. How much correction is necessary on this account, i.e. in respect of resources carried over from one week to another, it is not possible to say with exactitude, but it must be appreciable, especially in the skilled grades. The effect of (b) is partially to offset that of (a).

(c) A third cause of possible difference between the results of the two inquiries is the fact that, owing to the

<sup>1</sup> P. 159.



difference of approach, the Street Survey has necessarily taken more account than the House Sample of the poverty which arises partly from misuse of means and not wholly from their deficiency. The attitude both of Charles Booth and the Street Survey towards borderline cases between "primary" and "secondary" poverty was discussed in Volume III (pp. 99 to 101). Both the Street Survey and the House Sample were based in principle on "primary poverty," but the Street Survey was inevitably less rigid in its treatment of borderline cases.

(d) Differences of definition and of instructions to interviewers and in particular the different conception of the "middle class" which is discussed in the following section, may account for some part, but probably only a minor part, of the difference of results.

Of all the above factors probably the most important is what may be termed the degree of fluidity or viscosity of family resources. Of the two kinds of "pooling of income" (as between different earners in the family and as between successive weeks) the method adopted tends to over-estimate the former and to under-estimate the latter. So far as concerns the Survey Area as a whole, the net result on balance is probably not very wide of the truth. Clearly, however, the relative importance of the two forms of pooling is likely to vary widely as between different social grades, and consequently as between different parts of the Survey Area. Possibly this may explain the somewhat wide range of differences between the comparative results of the Street Survey and House Sample inquiries as applied to particular boroughs.

#### IV

Lastly some reference must be made to the difference between the Street Survey and the House Sample inquiry in defining and enumerating the middle class, to which allusion has more than once been made in the preceding pages.

In the Western, as in the Eastern Survey Area, the number of persons classified as "M" in the Street Survey, falls considerably short of the percentage of House Sample cards rejected as "middle class," though the relative difference between the two percentages is considerably less in the West. The figures are as follows:

	"Middle-class" Families according to House Sample. (Per cent.)	"M" (Persons) according to Street Survey. (Per cent.)
Eastern Survey Area . . . . .	22	11
Western Survey Area . . . . .	32	23
Whole Survey Area . . . . .	28	18

The House Sample percentages refer to families and the Street Survey figures to persons, but this difference has no appreciable effect on their comparability.

The main cause of the divergence is undoubtedly the difference of definition. A "middle-class" card for the purpose of the House Sample means a card relating to a family whose principal earner follows a "middle-class" occupation, or (to use a now common expression) belongs to the "black-coated" category.

The "M" category of the Street Survey on the other hand consists of persons whose incomes exceed a limit fixed appreciably above the average level of the skilled manual worker. The limit so fixed (viz. £5 a week or £250 a year) was more or less arbitrary, but it had the advantage of being a limit already recognised under the Insurance Acts.

It is to be wished that the conditions governing the two inquiries had permitted of the adoption of a common criterion for the enumeration of the "middle" class, but in the actual circumstances this was impracticable. It was the aim of the Street Survey to keep its classification as nearly as possible comparable with that of Charles Booth, so that the class denominated "M" in the New Survey should correspond fairly with the Booth categories "G" and "H" taken together. Charles Booth's

own description of the criteria which he employed, while suggesting a combination of the two ideas of material prosperity and occupational grade, laid the chief stress on indications of income, such as were afforded by rental of house occupied or servants kept. As explained in Volume III<sup>1</sup> the last-mentioned test has been rendered obsolete by changes of social habits, but the character of the dwelling (where occupied by one family) has had great weight in the assessment of the "M" class.

On the other hand, it was necessary that the House Sample inquiry should preserve continuity of method with the previous sample inquiries described in "Livelihood and Poverty" and "Has Poverty Diminished?" in which the criterion of middle-class cards was in the main occupational, though in both inquiries any card relating to a house of obviously "middle-class" grade was also rejected irrespective of occupation. Hence the proportion of cards excluded as "middle class" would be necessarily higher than that of families classed as "M" by the test of income only.

It may well be that twenty years ago when the instructions for the first sampling inquiry in provincial towns<sup>2</sup> were drawn up, there was a good deal less discrepancy than at the present time between the number classed socially with the middle class in respect of occupational grade, and the number in receipt of "middle-class" incomes. Indeed, the present ratio between these numbers, viz. 28 to 18, or (say) about 3 to 2 in London, may perhaps be taken as a significant though rough indication of the effect of "mechanisation" and other economic developments in transforming clerical and distributive occupations, and leading to the growth of a "black-coated" group, whose earnings are comparable with, and sometimes even lower than, those of skilled manual workers, though they are still regarded by themselves and by their fellows as belonging socially to the so-called "lower middle class."

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 97-8.

<sup>2</sup> See *Livelihood and Poverty*, p. 176.

In order so far as possible to mark the difference of definition and to minimise the inconvenience resulting to the reader therefrom, it has been decided throughout the present volume to refer to the class as defined in the Street Survey as "Class M," leaving the term "middle class" to describe the families so defined in the House Sample inquiry.

## PART III

### SPECIAL STUDIES.

#### CHAPTER IX

#### THE LONDON HOUSING PROBLEM

##### I. THE DEFICIENCY OF WORKING-CLASS DWELLINGS

THE housing problem in London may be considered under the two aspects of quality and of quantity. The former problem with its familiar features—the insanitary area, the slum dwelling and the tenement house—is an old evil. The latter problem, that of quantity, has in recent years assumed the character of a national emergency. Whether or not it is really a new problem, there was a marked decline in the output of new houses in the years immediately preceding the War,<sup>1</sup> followed by an almost complete stoppage of building during the War itself. The subsequent history of housing activity in London is largely the history of efforts to catch up, under the newly-adopted principle of State assistance for house-building, with the shortage which had accumulated by the end of the War.

The two aspects of quality and quantity are not fundamentally separable. Centrally between them lies the appalling problem of overcrowding, an account of which appeared in Volume III. Due in some measure at any rate to the shortage of houses, it very gravely accentuates the evils arising from the poor quality of

<sup>1</sup> For the pre-War decline in building and the effect of the 1910 Budget in this connection, see Vol. I, p. 106.

much of London's house accommodation, through increased wear and tear, the sharing by several families of domestic fittings intended only for one household, and through the general decline of condition which accompanies multiple occupation. Further, it is impossible to arrive at any estimate of the extent of the shortage of houses unless we have some guiding conception of the standard in respect of which the provision of houses may be said to be deficient.

Unfortunately there is a wide divergence between the estimates of the shortage prepared by different authorities. Thus in 1919 the Local Government Board estimated that 100,000 new houses were required in the County of London, while the London County Council stated that half that number of houses would meet the existing deficiency.

The conception of a house shortage is indeed somewhat nebulous. It may mean the net total of new dwellings which would be required to accommodate, at the existing average density of persons per room and of rooms per dwelling, the increase of population after a date when the supply of houses was deemed to be sufficient. Again, it may mean the number of dwellings which would be needed if every private family were to have a dwelling suited to its needs. In any case the resulting total of dwellings required will not represent the full number of houses which are really needed, as the problem of housing is still largely a local one, and in spite of improvements in transport a surplus of houses accruing in one district can only within limits be used to reduce congestion in another.

The London County Council's estimate of 50,000 houses required in 1919 was calculated on the former basis, with an added figure for the replacement of outworn property and of houses displaced by improvements, but including nothing for the reduction of overcrowding. On this basis it can be shown that the provision of new dwellings in Greater London has since the War been much more than sufficient to accommodate the increase

of population, and that a shortage no longer exists. It can hardly be questioned, however, that the actual unit to be accommodated is not the individual but the group of individuals who live together in a private family. Similarly, the unit of accommodation is not so much the single room as the group of rooms which together form a complete family dwelling. If we take the latter as corresponding broadly with the Census conception of a "structurally separate dwelling,"<sup>1</sup> we can find a first crude test of the shortage in the relation between the number of families and the number of structurally separate dwellings.

PRIVATE FAMILIES AND STRUCTURALLY SEPARATE DWELLINGS  
(County of London)

	Census 1911				Census 1931			
	Census 1911	Increase (+) or Decrease (-) on 1911			Census 1931	Increase (+) or Decrease (-) on 1911		
	Number	Number	Per 1,000		Number	Number	Per 1,000	
(1) Private Families	1,023,151	1,120,547	+ 97,396	+ 9.5	1,190,030	+ 69,483	+ 62	
(2) Structurally Separate Dwellings								
(a) Occupied by private families	609,711 <sup>1</sup>	701,035	+ 91,324	+ 47	730,628	+ 29,593	+ 42	
(b) Vacant	47,260	18,369	- 28,891	- 57 <sup>1</sup>	18,302	- 667	- 35	
(3) Structurally Separate Dwellings								
Total (a) and (b)	716,971	720,004	+ 3,033	+ 4	748,930	+ 28,926	+ 40	
Excess of Private Families over Structurally Separate Dwellings, (1)-(3)	306,180	400,543	+ 94,363	+ 30.6	441,100	+ 40,207	+ 101	

<sup>1</sup> This particular category was not separately stated in 1911. The figure given above was arrived at by subtracting the numbers of hotels, inns, public houses and institutions from the total number of structurally separate dwellings.

Thus at first sight it appears that the excess of families over structurally separate dwellings has increased considerably in the post-war years, though not to the same

<sup>1</sup> I.e. a dwelling "which has separate access to the street or to a common landing or staircase."

amount as in the decade ending 1921. It is known however that the number of private families, and consequently the excess of families over dwellings, was considerably understated in 1921, and if this were taken into account the apparent retrogression since that date might disappear.

Some light on the shortage is also thrown by the proportion of dwellings vacant<sup>1</sup> on Census night, which in 1911 was 6.6 per cent. of the total number of dwellings, but which had fallen by 1921 to 2.6 per cent. and to 2.4 per cent. by 1931.

As a result of the surplus of families over separate dwellings, two out of every five dwellings, though structurally undivided, nevertheless accommodate more than one family. The percentage of families so accommodated is naturally even larger. The distribution of families in dwellings is shown in the following table :

COUNTY OF LONDON, 1931  
All Families and Dwellings

	Private Families.		Separate Dwellings occupied by families	
	Number	Per 1,000.	Number.	Per 1,000.
1 family per dwelling . .	437,325	368	437,325	599
2 families per dwelling . .	171,174	312	185,587	254
3 or more families per dwelling . . . .	381,531	320	107,716	147
Total . . . . .	1,190,030	1,000	730,628	1,000

The Census statistics apply to families and dwellings of all grades. If it were possible to show working-class families and dwellings separately, it is certain that the deficiency would appear relatively greater. That this

<sup>1</sup> I.e. vacant from whatever cause, including the temporary absence of occupier.



is so is shown by the much lower percentage of vacant dwellings in boroughs which are occupied mainly by the working classes when compared with the percentage in boroughs with a large middle-class element. Thus in the six boroughs Bermondsey, Bethnal Green, Deptford, Finsbury, Southwark, and Stepney, the percentage of vacant dwellings was less than 1 per cent. at the last Census, as compared with  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in Hampstead, Kensington, St. Marylebone, and Westminster.

It is not of course suggested either as a practicable policy or even as an ultimate ideal that every "family" as defined in the Census, however small, ought to be accommodated in a separate dwelling. For example, 155,000 so-called families consist of one person, and 280,000 of only two persons. Few of the former category and only a proportion of the latter could be properly regarded as families for whom separate dwellings are required. The deduction that should be made from total house requirements in respect of these small families must of course to a certain extent be a matter of opinion, but an average of one dwelling to two families of this type seems a not unreasonable standard to take.

On this assumption the number of structurally separate dwellings required in the County of London is considerably reduced and the net deficiency compared with the present supply becomes 223,600. This is the number of additional dwellings that would be required in order to enable every London family of three or more persons to occupy a dwelling in which it can develop its family life without having to share with outsiders facilities for washing, cooking, sanitary or other purposes, and at the same time to provide one separate dwelling for every two families of less than three persons.

This crude test is of course insufficient by itself, for it takes no account of the size of the dwelling, or the number of rooms necessary to accommodate each family without overcrowding.

The requirements of working-class families as regards size of dwellings have been worked out for the whole

Survey Area in accordance with the Manchester Standard,<sup>1</sup> with the following result:—

<sup>2</sup> Tenements (per 1,000.)	Rooms Required per Tenement.	Bedrooms Required per Tenement.
436 . . . . .	1 or 2	1
376 . . . . .	3	2
168 . . . . .	4	3
20 . . . . .	5 or more	4 or more
<u>1,000</u>		

On the assumption that these minimum requirements applied to families of all grades in London, the following figures would show the comparison between the dwellings provided and the dwellings required on the Manchester Standard.

COMPARISON OF SEPARATE DWELLINGS PROVIDED AND DWELLINGS REQUIRED ON THE MANCHESTER STANDARD.

(Assuming that working-class requirements are typical of all families and that a separate dwelling is allotted to every family of 3 or more persons and to every two families of 1 or 2 persons.)

*County of London.*

Number of Rooms per Tenement.	Number of Dwellings Provided. (Census, 1931)	Minimum Number of Dwellings Required.	Deficiency (—) or Excess (+)
1 or 2 rooms . . . . .	56,500	291,500	— 245,000
3 rooms . . . . .	77,000	447,000	— 370,000
4 rooms . . . . .	117,500	200,000	— 82,500
5 or more rooms . . . . .	498,000	24,000	+ 474,000
All sizes . . . . .	749,000	972,500	-- 223,500

Evidently the deficiency in the number of dwellings

<sup>1</sup> The general principles on which the Manchester Standard of overcrowding is based are that (a) the sexes must be separated where aged 10 or over, except in the case of married (or ostensibly married) couples, (b) counting persons aged 10 or over as 1, and persons under 10 as  $\frac{1}{2}$ , there must not be more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  persons per bedroom on the average. Rules for exceptional family groups are also laid down.

<sup>2</sup> See Table XV, p. 64.

available in London is entirely in the dwellings of four rooms or under, there being a large surplus of dwellings of five or more rooms.<sup>1</sup> If it could be assumed that all places of residence and all existing rooms were available for the accommodation of tenants of all grades, there would on balance be no physical shortage of rooms, but rather a considerable excess over requirements. On the above assumption it would be theoretically possible by dividing up and adapting the larger houses to accommodate all families in the County of London, and still leave a large margin of rooms for future increases in the number of families.

But in view of the great area covered by London and its complex social conditions it is quite inadmissible to assume that house accommodation wherever situated is available for the whole population. Moreover, the table takes into account only the number of rooms in relation to requirements and the provision of self-contained dwellings for each family. It ignores altogether such questions as the density of houses per acre and the structural and sanitary conditions of the existing houses.

The general inference to be drawn is that the grave position of housing in London is due far less to the total shortage of house-room than to its geographical distribution, combined with the very serious disparity between the size and type of dwellings as existing and as would be required by any standard of suitable family accommodation. Meanwhile the pressure on house accommodation in London, as measured by the very low percentage of empty houses, still exists and appears indeed to be at least as great as it has ever been in the past.

The following table shows the number of new dwellings built in London by various agencies since 1919:

<sup>1</sup> The surplus, and indeed the whole calculation, are to some extent abstractions. For instance, many five-room houses which possess both a living-room and a kitchen, are properly used in practice for families which only need three bedrooms, and which therefore on a strict interpretation of the Standard are adequately housed in a four-room dwelling.

## NEW DWELLINGS BUILT IN GREATER LONDON FROM 1920-32 INCLUSIVE.

Agency by which provided.	County of London.	Outer London.	Total Greater London.
(a) London County Council . .	16,117	35,097	51,214
(b) City Corporation and Metropolitan Boroughs . . . .	14,097	220	14,317
(c) Local Authorities of Outer London . . . . .	—	40,439	40,439
(d) Public Utility Societies and Housing Trusts . . . . .	4,827	1,793	6,620
(e) Private Enterprise (Houses of all classes). . . . .	26,977	254,816	281,793
All Agencies . . . . .	62,018	332,365	394,383
Annual Average . . . . .	4,771	25,566	30,337

Against the gross increase indicated by the table must be set a considerable loss of houses due to demolition or conversion to workshops and business premises. In the intercensal period 1921-31 the net increase in the number of structurally separate dwellings recorded in the County averaged 2,893 per annum or only two-thirds of the gross addition shown by the above table. It is known that almost exactly half of this annual leakage is due to demolitions in the course of the year.<sup>1</sup> The balance may be accounted for in part by differences in the standards applied by Census investigators, but includes also the loss to housing due to the conversion of a number of houses from dwellings to business, industrial or other uses.

Of the new houses built in Greater London since 1919, private enterprise was responsible for a very large majority. In the County, however, the proportion of private enterprise houses was much less, amounting only

<sup>1</sup> Between 1921 and 1931 an average of 936 houses were annually taken out of rating in the County of London.

to 43·5 per cent. of the total. This is only natural in view of the fact that private enterprise in housing mainly consists in speculative building on undeveloped land.

It may be assumed for practical purposes that all houses provided by local authorities, public utility societies and housing trusts are intended for and in fact occupied by families which may be broadly described as working class. But the figures for private enterprise houses cover houses of all kinds, and there are no figures to show how many of them become available for the working classes.

Rateable value is an unsatisfactory criterion in many ways, and the lowest category in the published statistics (£30 and less) is in any case much too high to provide a test of a working-class dwelling. A possible test is afforded by the receipt of subsidy under the various Housing Acts.

#### NEW HOUSES IN GREATER LONDON ASSISTED AND NON-ASSISTED, 1920-32.

Scheme under which Assisted	Local Authorities.		Public Utility Societies and Trusts.		Private Enterprise.	
	Number	Per 1,000.	Num- ber	Per 1,000.	Number.	Per 1,000.
1919 Act (Addison).	27,412	259	536	81	6,353	22
1923 Act (Chamber- lain)	16,420	155	732	111	27,484	98
1924 Act (Wheatley)	56,096	529	1,724	260	280	1
1930 Act (Greenwood)	508	5	—	—	—	—
Non-assisted . . .	5,534	52	3,628	548	247,676	879
Total . . . .	105,970	1,000	6,620	1,000	281,793	1,000

With regard to private enterprise houses two main points emerge from the table. The great majority were

built without subsidy; and of the alternative schemes of assistance provided by the Acts of 1923 and 1924, private builders, unlike local authorities, almost unanimously preferred the former. It may be assumed that at any rate the bulk of the non-assisted houses are not available for the working classes, since if it had been the intention of the builders to build working-class dwellings, they would presumably have endeavoured to conform to the requirements of the Acts and so obtain a subsidy.

The chief difference between the Acts of 1923 and 1924 consisted not in the size and type of house covered (which were in the main unchanged), but in the fact that the later Act offered a substantially larger subsidy on condition that the houses must be built to let, and to let moreover at rents comparable with controlled rents for houses of similar type. It is probable therefore that the reason why most builders preferred the earlier Act in spite of the lower subsidy was that they elected to be free to sell rather than incur the obligation to let. Hence we may fairly conclude that most of the subsidised private enterprise houses were built for sale.

How many working-class families have in fact acquired private enterprise houses on the hire-purchase system it is impossible to say, but house purchase even on the most easy terms must usually be beyond the means of families with a weekly income of, say, 60s. to 80s. The sample inquiry showed that in the Survey Area only about 5 per cent. working-class families own their own houses.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, therefore, it appears likely that a very small proportion of the houses built by private enterprise are occupied by working-class families. This fact puts a somewhat different complexion on the progress of housing in recent years as represented by the annual output.

<sup>1</sup> It may be, however, that owing to the marked reduction in loan charges during the last three years (i.e. since the House Sample was taken) an increased number of working-class families has been enabled to buy houses on the instalment plan, at any rate in the outskirts to which speculative building is mainly confined.

ANNUAL OUTPUT OF HOUSES IN GREATER LONDON, 1928-32.

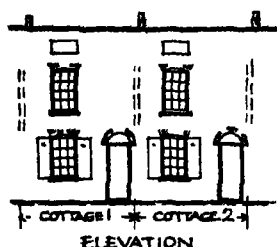
Year.	Local Authorities, Public Utility Societies and Housing Trusts.	Private Enterprise.	Total.
1928 . . .	15,744	26,637	42,381
1929 . . .	9,737	32,951	42,688
1930 . . .	8,587	41,596	50,183
1931 . . .	11,052	44,460	55,512
1932 . . .	8,955	35,661	44,616

If we disregard private enterprise houses as in most cases not available to the working classes, we obtain an average annual output of about 11,000 working-class dwellings over the last five years.

It would be a fallacy to assume that because these new private enterprise houses on the outskirts are rarely available to working-class families, they are of no effect in reducing the shortage of working-class dwellings. When large numbers of middle-class families migrate to the suburbs, many of the houses vacated by them in central areas pass into working-class occupation and so increase the accommodation available for working-class families. This process however has its unfortunate side, as the houses are almost always too large for single occupation by a working-class family, with the result that they are shared, often without adaptation, by several families, and so go to increase the number of "tenement houses" which form so prominent and undesirable a feature of London's housing problem.

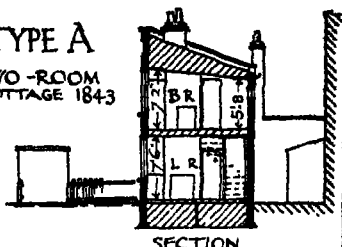
## II. TYPES OF WORKING-CLASS DWELLINGS

Working-class families in London make their homes in buildings which vary widely in age, size, plan and quality, and which range from the barest two-room hovels to spacious West End mansions only recently vacated by wealthy families. This diversity is illustrated in the accompanying sketch plans selected in consultation with a number of housing experts to show a few of the more important types of working-class dwelling in London. With the exception of types F and G (pp.

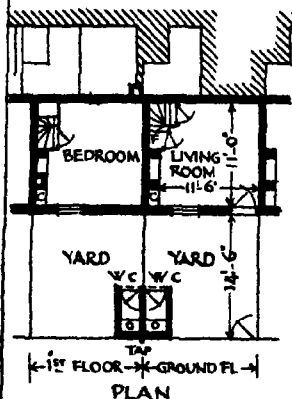


ELEVATION

TYPE A  
TWO-ROOM  
COTTAGE 1843



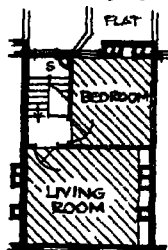
SECTION



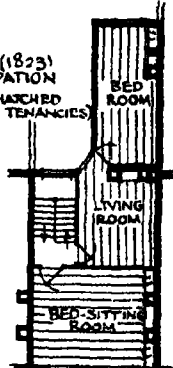
PLAN

TYPE B

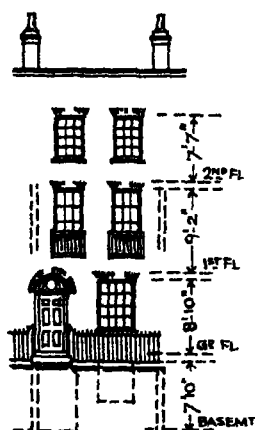
GEORGIAN HOUSE (1823)  
IN MULTIPLE OCCUPATION  
(ROOMS VARIOUSLY HATCHED  
TO SHOW DIFFERENT TENANCIES)



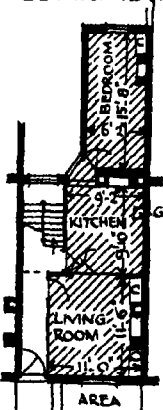
2ND FLOOR PLAN



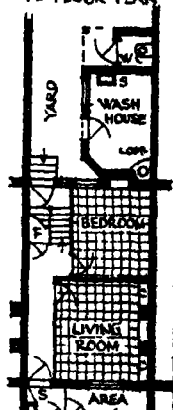
1ST FLOOR PLAN



ELEVATION



GROUND FL PLAN



COAL CELLARS  
BASEMENT PLAN

SCALE 0 10 20 30 FEET



176-7), plans of which were kindly lent by the London County Council, all the dwellings illustrated have been specially surveyed, and the plans are in all cases drawn to a uniform scale. The actual dwellings illustrated are all under good management, and are hence doubtless on the average superior as regards condition, rental, density of occupation and the like to the generality of dwellings of the same type. But there is reason to believe that in point of planning and arrangement they are fairly representative of working-class houses as a whole.

*Type A. Two-room Cottage. No. 51 . . . . . Place, N.1.*  
 Street colour<sup>1</sup>: Purple with blue line.  
 Overcrowding colour of district: Dark brown.

. . . . . Place, which dates from 1843, is a long narrow court, entered through arches from the thoroughfares at either end. It contains 76 two-roomed cottages ranged in two rows about a 12-foot paved alley, with 5 larger shops where the alley debouches on the main streets. The houses are built at a density of 81 to the acre.<sup>2</sup> The population of the court is 435, an average of 5.37 persons per house and approximately 2.46 per room. There is no sub-letting. No. 51 on the north side is occupied by a family of 5 persons, but an identical cottage on the same side has 11 occupants, all of one family. On this side the backs of the houses abut directly on the sculleries and backyards of the neighbouring property, and the cottages have their yards in front with an external tap for every seven cottages. Those on the south side, otherwise similar, have each a backyard and tap. The rooms though small are not exceptionally so, but the staircase is dark and cramped and the first-floor room is exceedingly low. There were originally no damp-proof

<sup>1</sup> The reference is (i) to the scheme of coloration to show economic grades, based on the Street Survey (Volume IV, Maps 1-5, and Volume VII, Maps 8-12); (ii) to the colouring of Map 7, Volume IV, showing density of population in Census Enumeration Districts

<sup>2</sup> The density is calculated over the whole site and half the area of the streets at each end.

courses or surface concrete, but these have now been supplied to many of the cottages in the course of periodic repairs. The rateable value of the cottage surveyed is £8 and the gross weekly rent 7s. 10d. A typical house on the south side is let at 9s. 4d.

Thousands of such cottages were built in the "Inner Ring" in the early years of the nineteenth century. The number remaining is not very large, but the type is illustrated as showing what is probably the most rudimentary form of dwelling still found in London.

*Type B. Medium-sized House of Early Nineteenth Century.*

*No. 104 . . . . . Street, N.W.*

Street colour: Purple with blue stripe and black stripe.

Overcrowding colour of district: Mid-brown.

This house, which was built in 1823 as a middle-class residence, has a very simple plan, consisting of one room in front and a smaller room and staircase at the back on each floor. The ground-floor and first-floor rooms over the washhouse have been added later, to the detriment of the light and air in the back rooms. The construction and workmanship is sound and the design pleasing with its dainty cast-iron balconies and leaded fanlight. Water is supplied to the sinks in the area and washhouse at basement level and on the landing between first and second floors. The washhouse and w.c. in the yard serve the whole house. At the end of the fair-sized yard a shoemaker's shop has been erected, which can be approached only through the house.

The rooms are occupied as follows:

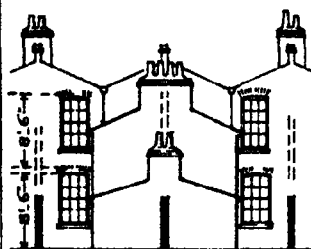
Basement . . . . .	1 family, 2 persons.	Rent, 7s. 3d.
Ground floor . . . . .	1 " 4 "	" 13s. 6d.
First floor (front) . . . . .	1 " 2 "	" 6s. 0d.
" " (back) . . . . .	1 " 1 "	" 7s. 6d.
Second floor . . . . .	1 " 2 "	" 8s. 6d.
Workshop in yard . . . . .		" 2s. 6d.

The rateable value is £46.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This house, therefore, and many others of a similar type, would be included in the highest category of houses ("Class A") recognised by the Rent and Mortgage Interest (Amendment) Act, 1933. This class ceased to be subject to rent control as from September 29, 1933.

# TYPE C

TWO-STOREY BACK-  
ADDITION HOUSE.



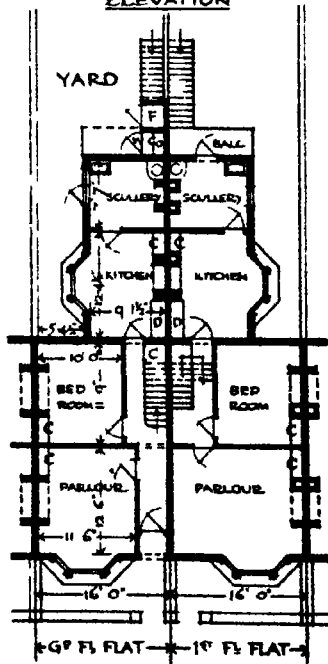
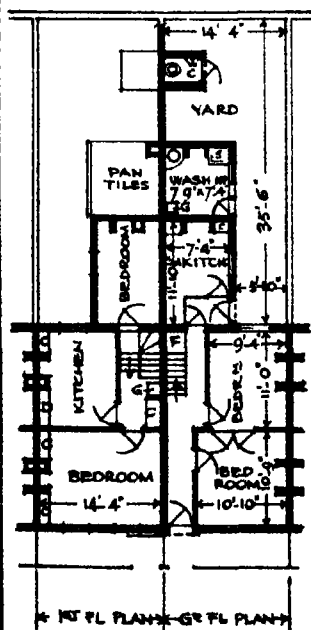
← HOUSE 1 → HOUSE 2 →  
BACK ELEVATION

# TYPE D

COTTAGE FLATS



ELEVATION



The essential plan of this house is characteristic of the bulk of medium-sized houses, whether of 2, 3 or 4 storeys, built up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Later additions at the back to secure extra accommodation are also highly characteristic. In many cases they destroy the chief merit of the plan, namely, free circulation of air and good light at the back.

*Type C. Two-storey Back-Addition House.*

*No. 84 . . . . . Walk, S.E.*

Street colour: Purple.

Overcrowding colour of district: Mid-brown.

The "back-addition" type of plan, of which this house (built about ninety years ago) is an early example, was the characteristic contribution of the mid-nineteenth century to the planning of the small house. It was adopted almost universally for smaller houses throughout the latter half of the century, and was still in fairly common use at the beginning of the War. Since the War it has fallen into disfavour, but is even yet by no means extinct. Though not as common as Type B in the Inner Ring, it is predominant in the Outer and External Boroughs, and is scattered in stark little rows through the townships and villages of Greater London.

The type resembles the last in the arrangement of the front and back rooms and of the staircase, but the plans of alternate houses in the street are reversed, so that the staircases of neighbouring houses are next to one another. The back-addition rooms similarly adjoin one another, under one roof, and are placed on the staircase side of each house. They are lower than the rooms in the main part of the house, since on the first floor the back addition has to be entered from a half-landing on the stair.

The plan is very compact and gives the maximum amount of accommodation on a narrow frontage. Its principal defect is that the front passage and the staircase are ill-ventilated and badly lit. There is generally a skylight over the stair, but in this particular house even this is absent, and the sole source of light is a fixed fanlight

over the front door. The lighting and ventilation at the back of the house are also poor, on account of the narrow yard-space left by the back addition.

The house surveyed is a small example of the type, and the rooms are all fairly small except the front room on the first floor, which extends over the front passage. At present it is occupied in two tenements, as follows:

Ground floor	.	.	1 family, 2 persons.	Rent, 9s. 4d.
First floor	.	.	1 family, 3 persons.	Rent, 9s. 4d.

The rateable value of the house is £20.

In addition to the habitable rooms, the ground floor has a washhouse with copper, sink and gas-stove in the extension to the back addition, and a w.c. in the yard. The use of these offices is common to both tenants. The tap over the washhouse sink is the only water-supply for the whole house. The ground-floor kitchen, originally small, has been rendered still smaller by a lobby, which has been carved out of it to enable the upstairs family to reach the yard and offices without passing through a habitable room. Its height is only 7 feet as compared with 8 feet 6 inches in the other ground-floor rooms. Upstairs, the back room has been adapted as a kitchen for the upstairs family, with dresser and cupboard, but no range. There is a gas-stove on the landing. The division of cupboards as between the tenants is very unequal, the provision on the first floor being ample while downstairs it is confined to two small cupboards in the kitchen.

The illustration gives the back elevation of the house, in order to show the back addition. In later examples of the type the main building has a pitched roof with its ridge parallel to the frontage and party walls between the houses rising above the slates (as in Type D).

*Type D. A Cottage Flat. No. 33 . . . . . Road, S.E.*  
Street colour: Purple.

Overcrowding colour of district: Light brown.

Cottage flats are an adaptation of the "Back-Addition House" (Type C) designed to provide smaller dwellings

without the wastage of site area entailed by small cottages and without the disadvantages of the block-dwelling. They are a late nineteenth-century development and are fairly common in outer and external boroughs such as Leyton, Deptford and Walthamstow. The flats illustrated are on a small estate built about 1884. The rooms are fair-sized and lofty, and the arrangement generally is compact and convenient, though suffering from the disadvantages inherent in the "Back-Addition" type, namely, dark and ill-ventilated staircase, and poor light and air to the back room. Each flat has its own scullery with sink and tap, and copper. The two flats, however, are not structurally separate as there is a common entry from the street and a common w.c. under the first-floor balcony. The back garden is reached from the first-floor balcony by an outside stair. In many cases, though not in this instance, the garden is divided into two parts, one for each flat. The construction and workmanship of the house are good, but the foundations and drains give trouble owing to the alluvial subsoil. The flats are occupied as follows:

Ground floor	1 family, 3 persons.	Rent, 13s. 0d.;	rateable value, £11.
First floor	. 1    "    3    "	"    11s. 10d.;	"    "    £12.

In later versions of the cottage flat the dwellings are frequently self-contained. They are easily recognised from the two front doors placed side by side under a single arch. One door admits to the ground-floor passage, and the other to a parallel passage leading to the stair only.

*Type E. Late Nineteenth-century "Model Dwelling."*  
*No. 76 . . . . . Street, S.E.*

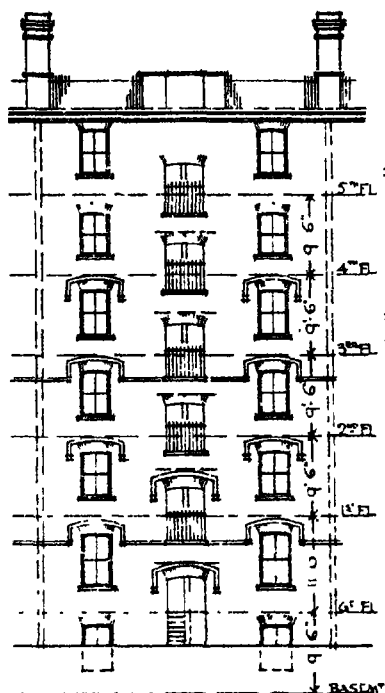
Street colour: Purple with black stripe.

Overcrowding colour of district: Red.

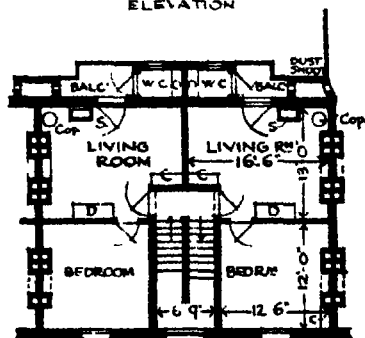
This dwelling forms part of a large estate of 630 model dwellings, the building of which was begun in 1881. The estate contains 430 dwellings of two rooms, 172 of three rooms, 28 of four to six rooms, and in addition

# TYPE E

XIX<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
MODEL DWELLINGS

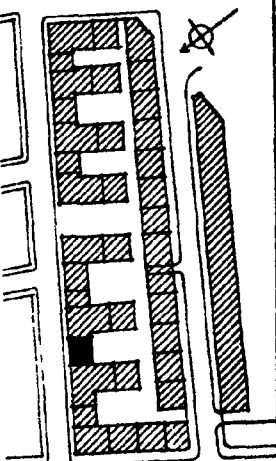


ELEVATION

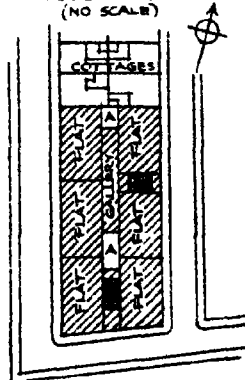


PLAN OF 2 FLATS ON 2<sup>ND</sup> FLOOR  
(SHOWN BLACK ON BLOCK PLAN)

10 20 30 40 50 60  
SCALE OF FEET



BLOCK PLAN  
(NO SCALE)



PLAN OF A DIFFERENT  
BLOCK WITH INTERNAL  
GALLERY. (NO SCALE)

20 shops. The population on a recent count was 2,163 adults and adolescents (over 14) and 754 children, or an average of 4.78 persons (3.43 adults and 1.35 children) to a dwelling. The average population per room is 1.88.

The dwelling surveyed is on the second floor and is let at 9s. a week. The rateable value is £8. It is occupied by one woman and her son.

The rooms are fairly large and well lit. Through ventilation is secured, but only one pane in the glazed door to the balcony can be opened as a ventilator. The living-room has a sink with a tap, a coal range and a gas copper. The dust shoots are of an old-fashioned pattern and might easily become insanitary. A good point in the planning is the w.c. reached from a small private balcony. The arrangement of the flats, two to each landing, secures great privacy and the dwellings are surprisingly cheerful in contrast with the gloomy exterior.

The construction is sound. In view of their great height the blocks are packed far too close to one another on the site.

In the arrangement of the individual flats, though not in the site planning, these dwellings are undoubtedly superior to the majority of old-fashioned "Models." Many of these are of the "open" type, that is to say, a number of tenants have to share a w.c. and sink, which are not infrequently placed at both ends of a dark and airless corridor. For purposes of comparison we illustrate also the block plan of a slightly older tenement block in the Inner North Area. These flats, though not of the open type, are approached from a 6-foot wide central gallery, running the whole length of the building, and lit only from two small areas and the staircases. This represents an early attempt to provide "through ventilation," but it is quite inefficient in this respect, and is otherwise a bad arrangement, as the gallery is simply a gloomy tunnel subject to all the disadvantages associated with dark and secluded meeting-places in a poor district.



*Type F. Post-War Cottage.*

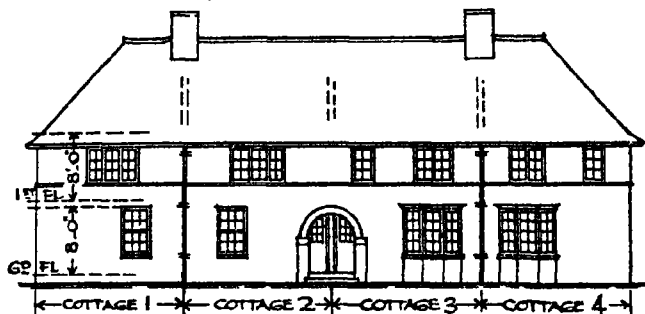
The illustration shows one of several standard cottage plans, which were adopted in 1925 by the London County Council for use on its cottage estates. It is of the "Four-Room Parlour" type and conforms as regards size and equipment to the requirements of the Acts of 1923 and 1924 for assisted dwellings. The cottage has a small working kitchen with gas-cooker, copper, sink and dresser, a separate larder, and a combined bathroom and w.c. upstairs. The bath water is heated in the copper and is thence pumped into the bath. The small parlour can be added to the living-room by means of folding doors. For reasons of economy intermediate houses in a block are not now provided (as in the earlier schemes) with an open passage from the front to the back garden, but in all cases there is a way through the house which does not involve passing through the living-room or parlour.

The number and geographical distribution of cottages provided by the County Council are shown in Table X. The estates are planned with an average density not exceeding 12 cottages to the acre, the actual densities on three typical estates being, for Bellingham (1921-9) 11.9; Downham (1925-30) 11.7; Watling (1927-30) 10.7. To this limitation and to the careful lay-out, the estates owe much of their delightful appearance. A restriction on density is of course costly, since, quite apart from the expense of the land, the closer the houses are packed on the site and the narrower the frontages, the smaller as a rule will be the financial burden borne by each house in respect of roads, sewers, water and lighting services. To a certain extent the cost of these can be reduced by careful planning; but in respect of each house it must always be greater on such estates than, for instance, on a typical pre-War estate developed by private enterprise. The back addition plan, the object of which is to minimise the cost of such services by reducing the frontages, thus loses its special advantage. Indeed, this type of

# L.C.C. POST-WAR DWELLINGS ELEVATIONS

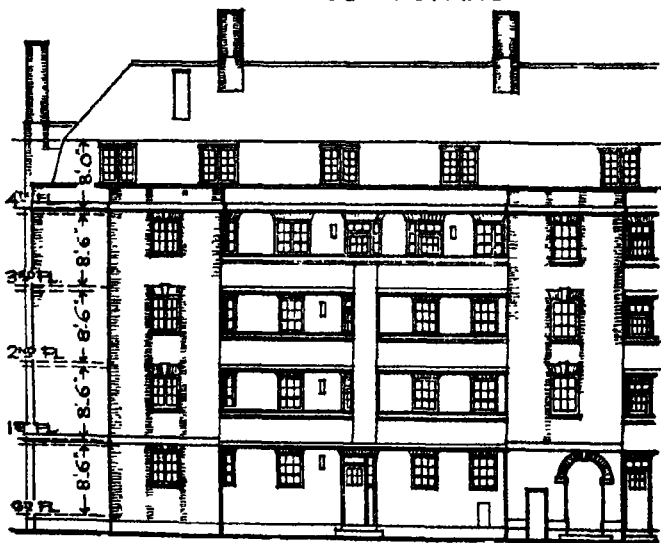
## TYPE F - COTTAGES

4-ROOM PARLOUR TYPE



## TYPE G - BLOCK-DWELLINGS

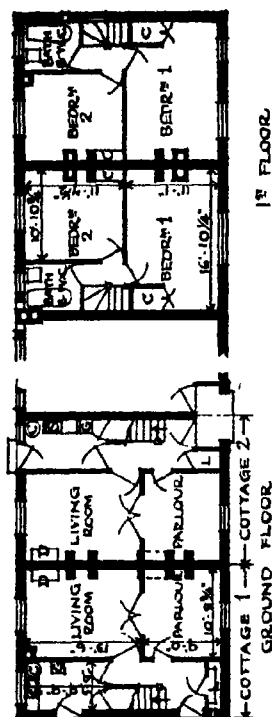
NORMAL ACCOMMODATION



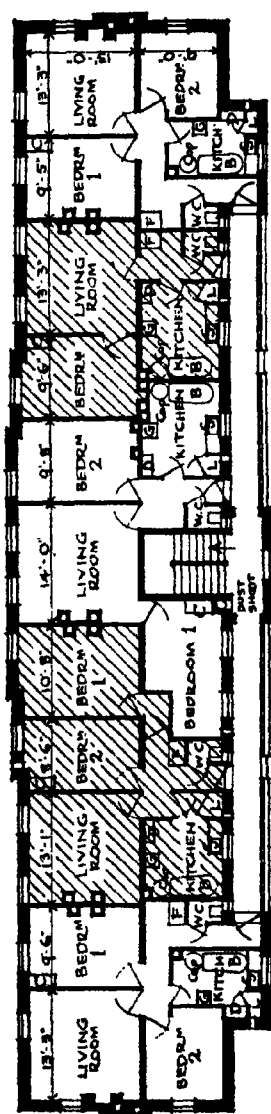
SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 FEET

# L.C.C. POST WAR DWELLINGS. PLANS

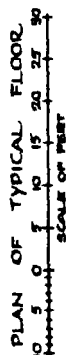
## TYPE 'F' - COTTAGES 4 ROOM PARLOUR TYPE



1<sup>ST</sup> FLOOR



## TYPE 'G' - BLOCK DWELLINGS NORMAL ACCOMMODATION



plan has never been favoured by the Council, though it remained characteristic of speculative builders' work till the War. The absence of the back projection makes it possible to provide good light and air everywhere, both in and about the building, and moreover results in a plain rectangular plan which is in itself cheaper to erect. It is noticeable that since the War the back-projection type has been generally abandoned by private enterprise also.

*Type G. Post-War Block Dwellings.*

The block dwelling chosen for illustration is the "normal" type of rehousing accommodation provided by the L.C.C. in connection with slum clearance. This is not quite the most recent pattern of block dwelling, but it has been used probably on the bulk of post-War tenement estates. The buildings are generally of five storeys of which the ground, first and second floors are arranged in self-contained flats and the third and fourth in "maisonettes" (or two-storey dwellings), with their entrances and living-rooms on the third floor and bedrooms (approached by a private stair) on the fourth floor. Access to the upper dwellings is by means of open balconies reached from a common staircase. The accommodation and equipment is similar to that provided on the cottage estates, except that there are no parlours. In flats of more than two bedrooms the bath is placed not in the kitchen but in a separate bathroom or a combined bathroom-w.c. There is a gas-cooker in the kitchen, and the living-room has a stove which can be used either closed for cooking or as an open fire. A dust shoot adjoins the common stair. Cycle and perambulator sheds are provided at ground level, and most blocks have a ventilated drying-room in the roof space. In appropriate cases lock-up shops are provided on the ground floor.

In order to provide dwellings at lower rents, a "simplified" plan has been in some recent instances substituted for the normal type. In the "simplified" plan the

individual dwellings are not self-contained but are arranged in self-contained units of two or sometimes three flats entered from the balcony by a common lobby. As the bedrooms open directly from the living-room and not from the common lobby a considerable amount of privacy is secured. The gas-cooker and larder are in the living-room and each flat has its own scullery and w.c. approached from the lobby. The washhouse with copper and bath is shared by the flats in rotation.

The provision of external balconies as means of access admits of highly economical planning, and it allows the tenants on the upper floors to have access to the open air without descending to the ground, thus to some extent compensating for the absence of the cottage yard. It is also an efficient safeguard in case of fire. The usual disadvantages of balconies, in that they darken the rooms and affect their privacy, are mitigated by the fact that with the exception of an occasional secondary bedroom all habitable rooms have their windows on the other side of the building. All dwellings extend from front to back of the block so that through ventilation is secured.

The illustration shows the plan of a typical floor. In fixing the number of flats to be provided of each size, recourse is had to a rule of proportion determined by the ascertained requirements of working-class families living on areas cleared by the County Council (see Table V). To secure compliance with this rule somewhat intricate planning is frequently necessary.

As regards construction, the structural floors throughout are of concrete finished in the habitable rooms with boards. The common staircase and balconies are similarly of concrete, and concrete blocks are used for the partitions. The roof is of timber construction. With their walls of golden brick, red quoins and arches, and red-tiled roof, the blocks have a simple and dignified exterior which is a welcome addition to the street architecture of London.

The number and geographical distribution of flats provided by the County Council are given in Table IV.

The density of rooms and dwellings per acre and of population per room and dwelling are shown by the following figures. The lowest density per acre in each case is for block dwellings on the White Hart Lane Estate, which form part of a cottage estate and are thus anomalous.

L.C.C. ASSISTED BLOCK DWELLINGS (completed schemes only).

	Rooms per Acre. <sup>1</sup>	Dwellings per Acre. <sup>1</sup>
Maximum . . . . .	223	79·3
Minimum . . . . .	82	23·4
Median . . . . .	174	61·4
Mean . . . . .	166	55

ALL L.C.C. ASSISTED BLOCK DWELLINGS.

Average number of rooms per dwelling . . . . .	3·07
Average population per dwelling . . . . .	4·6
Average population per room . . . . .	1·5

As a rule less than 30 per cent. of the site area is occupied by the buildings, the rest being laid out partly as lawns and gardens and partly as paved courtyards affording playgrounds for children.

The modern type of L.C.C. block dwelling is the result of many years of cumulative experiment in which the County Council and to some extent the Housing Trusts have been pioneers. On this experience and on the requirements of the Housing Acts of 1923 and 1924 has been based the considerable recent activity of the Public Utility Societies, Borough Councils and certain private owners. In most cases these bodies have introduced modifications of plan and varied the type of accommodation to meet their own requirements, but in general the plan illustrated may be taken as broadly typical of block dwellings provided by all agencies in London since the War.

### III. BLOCK DWELLINGS VERSUS COTTAGES

The special study of blocks of model dwellings in Charles Booth's third volume included a section written by Octavia Hill on the merits and demerits of block

<sup>1</sup> Acreage includes the area of the site and half the area of adjacent roads.

dwelling especially as regards their influence on character. Writing as early as 1899, she recognised that in future a steadily increasing proportion of London's working-class population would be housed in block dwellings, a form of housing in which she saw grave disadvantages and few merits. Their advantages in her opinion were summed up in better sanitary arrangements and a greater ease of inspection and control, though she pointed out that sanitation may be at least as faulty in a large block as in a smaller building. She thought, however, that the greater publicity in a block dwelling enabled sanitary defects where they occurred to be more easily detected and remedied. In these respects property managers are to-day less inclined to admit the superiority of the block dwelling. It is pointed out that where, for instance, there are four flats with closets one above the other the careless habits of one tenant can be a source of great discomfort to the other three households. Again, with regard to general cleanliness it is difficult to discover which tenant in a block leaves litter on the stairs or crams unsuitable refuse down the dust shoot, whereas an ill-kept cottage speaks for itself. Perhaps the advantages of the block dwelling in these directions rest chiefly in the fact that on the whole blocks in London are more recent in date than separate houses, and therefore have more up-to-date sanitation (e.g. proper inspection and cleaning "eyes" to the soil pipes), and also in the fact that in visiting tenants in a block one can generally cast a roving eye over the habits and activities of the other tenants.

Octavia Hill was by no means convinced of the greater economy of housing in blocks. It is not necessary to consider her arguments on this head, which later experience has definitely disproved. Model dwellings suggested to her mind a series of tall forbidding blocks spaced narrowly apart by sunless asphalt courtyards, and she thought that the space gained by increasing the number of storeys might well be cancelled by the increase of yard-space required to admit light and air to the

ground-floor flats. In this she was mistaken. By careful "lay-out" of the site it has been found possible to build 60 flats and maisonettes to the acre, and yet leave at least 70 per cent. of the site free for common amenities. The generally accepted limit for cottages is 12 to the acre. It must nevertheless be admitted that there are instances, in quite recent block dwellings, of ground floors which have too little sun.

The positive disadvantages of block dwellings were in Octavia Hill's opinion very serious, but she thought, though with some misgivings, that the worst of them were of a transitory nature. The worst of these disadvantages appeared to her to lie in the perils for ill-educated and undisciplined persons arising from the much closer and more continuous contact which exists in a block dwelling than among cottage-dwellers. The admission of even a few rough and disorderly tenants to a block might lead in her experience to complete pandemonium. She described in lurid terms the conditions which might result—the misuse and damage to common fixtures, the swift degradation of the children belonging to tidy families, the terrorism exercised by the rough over the quiet and industrious, the gambling hells on passages and stairs—in short the complete breakdown of orderly life, not always inconsistent with a fair showing to the outsider. She found that in the comparative privacy and seclusion of a cottage she could often accept rough tenants and train them gradually in orderly habits and social responsibility, whereas if admitted directly to a flat in a block dwelling they would have been unable to resist the temptations of contiguity and would inevitably have contaminated others. She recognised, however, that in an increasing number of blocks these evils were unknown, and she looked to the spread of general education and to the systematic training in cottages of the roughest type of tenant to develop gradually a sense of responsibility which would render an extension of flat dwelling tolerable. Her other objections to the block dwelling she described as largely



sentimental, namely the "impossibility of giving to a block home that stamp of individuality which most other homes take from the life of the family which dwells in it," and "the small scope which life in a block gives for individual freedom and the painful ugliness and uninterestingness in external look."

It may be asked how far these disadvantages and dangers still apply to the block dwellings of the present day. To take the last first, it is by no means inevitable that a block dwelling should be ugly or uninteresting. Indeed, most modern block dwellings are bright and cheerful, while many are beautiful. Secondly, in modern types of block dwelling much greater pains are taken to isolate the flats from each other, and this allows greater scope for individuality, and also to some extent mitigates the dangers of contiguity. The absence, however, of a separate yard to each dwelling undoubtedly reduces the opportunity for the development of individual tastes such as carpentry or gardening. Again, though the flats on the upper storeys are raised above the noises of the street, the problem of preventing the transference of sound from flat to flat has by no means been solved. A not uncommon criticism of the L.C.C. flats is directed against the restrictions on the keeping of pets and on the use of wireless and gramophones—restrictions which are reduced to a minimum, but which are nevertheless necessary if tenants of neighbouring flats are to be protected from annoyance.

In spite of these improvements, property managers say that they have to be just as careful as in the old days in the selection of tenants for a block dwelling, and it must be remembered that if the evils described by Octavia Hill are exceptional in the more recent block dwellings, this is attributable mainly to careful management, though also no doubt to the comparatively high rents which exclude degraded and thriftless tenants. In some of the old-fashioned blocks which still survive, especially if managed on purely commercial lines, conditions are slightly, if at all, better than was the case forty

years ago. A property manager says that in a particular group of blocks "gambling on the stairs was very prevalent and extraordinarily hard to stop, and the roofs could not be available to tenants for drying washing because of the opportunities offered for gambling and quarrelling. Probably the installation of good electric lighting on the stairs has been a great help against abuse of the open stairs at night. Terrorism is still rampant—the fear felt by the decent tenant of the bad is pathetic."

There is no space here to deal with several minor objections to block dwellings, the most serious of which is the inconvenience of the many flights of stairs for families with young children or aged and infirm persons. It must not be forgotten, however, that there are compensating advantages, in particular the better air on the upper floors and the comparative immunity from street noises.

The truth is that a flat in a block dwelling is not an ideal form of dwelling for very poor or degraded families. But the comparison drawn with such vigour by Octavia Hill between the working-class block and the separate cottage dwelling must not mislead us into supposing that the choice to-day lies wholly or even mainly between these two forms of accommodation. To provide new cottages in central areas is to-day out of the question, and for those who cannot afford to move to a cottage in the suburbs the alternative to a flat in a block dwelling is ordinarily a room or rooms in an old "tenement house" shared by several other families. Dwellers in tenement houses which are not badly overcrowded sometimes congratulate themselves on the privacy of their homes, but it is obvious that in general the proximity of families in a tenement house must be a good deal closer, if on a more restricted scale, than in a block of self-contained flats. The qualification is no doubt important, as a small group of families living together can keep up an orderly standard of social behaviour which might rapidly melt away in a greater community. Nevertheless, when considered as an alter-

native to a flat, a share in a tenement house is a much less attractive proposition than a cottage to oneself, and is moreover at best a makeshift dwelling, whereas a flat is at least designed to meet the requirements of a whole family. Such considerations must reconcile us in large measure to the block dwelling in spite of its disadvantages. The solution appears to lie in careful and sympathetic management by persons who understand the dangers of life in a block dwelling for the poorest class of family, and may be trusted to mitigate them to the best of their ability.

#### IV. EFFICIENCY AND DEFECTS OF LONDON WORKING-CLASS DWELLINGS

The life of a dwelling-house in a large city is commonly estimated at a hundred years. It is true that many houses, if originally of first-rate quality and kept throughout in constant repair, can be made to last almost indefinitely. But these conditions seldom apply at the same time to old working-class property in London, and a considerable amount of it must on ordinary principles be classed as outworn. An enormous number of houses were built in London in the 'twenties, 'thirties and 'forties of last century, and the greater number of them still exist. Many of these are, strictly speaking, due for replacement, and no doubt would in many cases have already disappeared, had it not been for the extreme difficulty of removing tenants and the operation of the leasehold system.<sup>1</sup> They are maintained in tolerable condition only by dint of a heavy and steadily rising annual outlay on repairs.

<sup>1</sup> The effect of the 99-year lease system on the London housing problem is important. On the one hand, it preserves for housing purposes many estates which would otherwise have been taken for industry and commerce. On the other hand, towards the end of the lease, leaseholders are deterred from executing all but the most indispensable repairs by the prospect of having to surrender the lease very shortly for other purposes. It also frequently happens that a large estate has been let in very small lots which fall in at different dates. When the leases thus get "out of step," the tendency is to renew individual leases as they fall in, so that a proper scheme of development and replanning in the interests of the area as a whole becomes impossible.

Nevertheless, housing conditions in London, in spite of their notoriety, are regarded with envy by those engaged in social work in provincial cities, many of which suffer from deficiencies which have been unknown in London for many years. Thus, to take an important instance, the water-carriage system which London has enjoyed for seventy years is still foreign to many closely populated areas in the provinces.

In the first place, London's sanitary services are on the whole excellent. The drainage and sewerage system is generally good. Though in many cases the sewers in use are of the old-fashioned brick tunnel type, they are steadily being replaced as occasion arises by more modern patterns. The sewers, however, are still liable at times to become surcharged after heavy downpours of rain, with the consequence that basements become flooded with mingled storm-water and sewage. There is reason to believe that these floods are not altogether infrequent. Their serious consequences while so many basements are still inhabited, need not be stressed. But though in low-lying areas, such as Deptford, the old sewers repeatedly become defective, prompt and energetic measures are always taken to remedy the defects and combat their results. The nauseous sewer emanations of nineteenth-century London are now, if not altogether a thing of the past, at any rate very rare ; and privy middens have disappeared.

The condition of the streets shows a similar improvement. Paved thoroughfares are now practically universal. Scavenging and the collection and disposal of refuse are more frequent and efficient, and the steady elimination of horse traffic has had a great effect. How great a change in the life of the working classes has been wrought by these improvements is best perhaps realised by comparing modern conditions with those described by Mayhew at a time when public health administration was in its infancy.

London's water supply is now constant and unexceptionable in quality. The supply to individual

houses still leaves something to be desired especially as regards houses which are in multiple occupation. Too many of these still have no water supply on the upper floors. Gas and electricity are available throughout the County and in most urban areas of Greater London. Practically all houses—even the very poorest—are supplied with either one or the other and often with both.

In the second place the condition of the yards and houses has undoubtedly improved in recent years. Many of the older houses are without damp-proof courses or surface concrete, but these have been rendered obligatory for all houses built in the County since 1879, and wherever substantial repairs are undertaken to buildings owners are required to remedy these defects. The absence of a damp-proof course is most serious when basements are occupied as dwelling-rooms.

The walls of most old cottages and tenement houses are of brickwork 9 inches thick. It is now considered doubtful whether this thickness of brickwork, even if in good condition, is by itself sufficient to exclude damp, and in modern times most 9-inch external walls are either rendered over in stucco or rough-cast, or built with a cavity. In any case defective pointing in an old wall will soon allow damp to percolate, and a large number of houses in London are affected in this way. Perished mortar in chimney stacks is frequently the cause of smoky chimneys.

Roofs are, broadly speaking, in a fairly safe and water-tight condition. Defective pantiled roofs are sometimes repaired by covering them with a coating of cement, but this is only a temporary remedy as the cement always cracks. The weak points in most roofs are the flashings round chimneys and sky-lights (generally of zinc) and the cast-iron gutters and rainwater heads. Zinc readily perishes and cast-iron becomes rusty and cracked, the result in each case being a leaky roof and wet walls.

Plastered walls and ceilings, window-frames and woodwork generally, wallpaper and paint are very susceptible to damage and rough treatment as well as

to ordinary wear and tear. Dilapidated woodwork, plaster and wallpaper, if less serious than structural faults, are also much more general. Few except the most modern working-class dwellings are entirely free from these defects. They are responsible for much dirt and discomfort and for the depressing atmosphere of squalor associated with so many working-class homes. Their most serious effect, however, is that they harbour vermin of all sorts, and especially bugs. This pest is regrettably common and is exceedingly hard to eradicate when once established, as it will pass from house to house through crevices in the party walls. By day it lurks in crannies and chinks from which it emerges at night in pursuit of its only diet, which is human blood. Its nightly raids are a grave menace to comfort, health and peace of mind.

The condition of yards is more difficult to estimate than that of houses. Yard paving requires constant attention as it is liable to be broken up by persons chopping wood. In poor property it really requires to be renewed every four or five years. Probably, however, there is an improvement here also. In any case, the substitution of more frequent dust collections for the old-fashioned insanitary ashpits is an undoubted gain.

A considerable improvement on balance and a fair average condition are by no means inconsistent with the existence of many individual houses and indeed whole areas which are in many respects unfit for human habitation. Thus, in the Isle of Dogs, most of the houses are below high-water mark, and many are constructed without damp-proof courses. Accordingly, though the river-defences have been recently raised so as to prevent flooding from the river at high tide, many houses are still subject to rising damp as the water in the subsoil rises, and in some cases subsoil water actually collects beneath the floor-boards of the ground-floor rooms. In certain low-lying parts of the island flooding has also occurred periodically through the surcharging of the sewers after heavy rainstorms.

In Fulham it has been asserted that many houses "are sound and outwardly in fair condition, but a survey of the interior reveals a general state of verminous plaster and woodwork, dirty and crumbling walls and ceilings, defective flooring and window sashes and broken grates, coppers and locks." In Somers Town it is stated that hardly any room in the old tenement houses is free from bugs. Examples of similar defects could probably be quoted from most boroughs. Experience seems to show that in very many instances of houses in a dilapidated and dirty condition, this condition is avoidable, and is due largely to the neglect of the owner or leaseholder. This view is supported by the facts (1) that the properties of different landlords in the same street or district and of similar date, construction and general character, often differ noticeably as regards structural and sanitary condition, whereas houses owned by the same landlord in different parts of London, though differing widely in age and character, nevertheless frequently exhibit a uniform state of repair good or bad as the case may be, (2) that neglect of repairs is frequently accompanied by other forms of malpractice on the landlord's part such as illegal increases of rent.

It is fair to add that many landlords—especially small men dependent for their living on the rents from a small number of properties—genuinely find it hard to afford the expenditure which would be required to keep their houses in good condition and which in the case of outworn property is frequently quite disproportionate to the annual return. Again, a landlord who has made the mistake of accepting unsatisfactory tenants may find it next to impossible to get rid of them owing to the Rent Restrictions Act.

A house may be in a satisfactory state of repair in the narrow sense and yet provide quite inadequate and unsuitable accommodation for the families which in fact live in it. This applies to some extent to old cottages (such as that illustrated in Type A) which have no proper washing or storage accommodation. Properly ventilated

ladders are indeed quite a rarity in all houses except the more modern types of working-class dwelling. But the criticism applies with much greater force to "tenement houses," that is to say, houses which are occupied without adaptation by a number of separate families. The normal sanitary provision in such houses consists of a single w.c. and a sink and tap on the ground floor only, and though extended water supplies are gradually being installed, largely through the efforts of the local authorities, the great majority of such tenement houses still depend on one w.c., while baths are almost unknown.

The occupation as living-rooms of rooms intended for bedrooms means that in many cases cooking has to be done over an open bedroom grate, where a cooking range could not be installed owing to the narrow space between the jambs. The provision of cupboard space is very rarely adequate. The prevalence of overcrowding has led inevitably to the occupation of basements as dwelling-rooms, and though stringent regulations are in force with regard to the occupation of underground rooms, it is a matter of common knowledge that many basements remain in occupation which are legally unfit for sleeping and living purposes.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the more serious objections to overcrowding, the floor space in an overcrowded tenement is frequently occupied almost entirely with beds so that even a fairly large room becomes quite appallingly congested and obstructed.

In few tenement houses is it possible for the separate families to enjoy any large measure of privacy from their immediate neighbours. In general it would not be unfair to say that the most serious shortcoming of housing accommodation in London is to be found not so much in its structural and sanitary condition, bad as this may be

<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that in 1931 there were in Shoreditch alone 2,000 basement rooms in occupation which were legally unfit for human habitation, and that in Islington there were as many as 1,400 basement dwellings with ceilings at or below the street level. See the summarised Borough Housing Reports based on the Reports of Borough Medical Officers, published in the *Social Service Review (London Supplement)*, October, 1932.



in many cases, as in its lack of adjustment to the needs of the ordinary working-class family.

#### V. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF LONDON HOUSING

Owners of houses are under an obligation to keep them in repair or to destroy them where irreparable. Under the present law it is the duty of the Borough Medical Officers to discover cases in which these obligations are neglected, both by means of systematic house-to-house inspection and by the investigation of complaints received. It is not necessary in the present chapter to describe in detail the procedure followed when an inspection reveals that the condition of a house is injurious to health. In effect the owner is required to abate the evil, and usually complies—sometimes however in a very perfunctory manner.

In 1931, 166,824 primary house inspections were made by sanitary inspectors in the County of London of which roughly three-quarters were the result of complaints or infectious illness. The number of the consequent repairs and abatement of nuisances was 126,224, but this total includes many repairs of only a slight nature. On the basis of rough estimates supplied by sanitary inspectors it is computed that the cost of repairs undertaken annually by house owners in London as a direct result of action by local authorities amounts to little less than a million pounds. There are no means of estimating the cost of repairs undertaken voluntarily, but if these were added they would no doubt swell London's annual bill of repairs to a much higher figure.

The occupation of basements as dwellings, while not necessarily illegal, is subject to special restrictions, e.g. the ceiling must be at least seven feet high and at least three feet (or under certain conditions one foot) above the level of the adjoining ground. A basement dwelling must moreover comply with the regulations laid down by the Borough Councils, which are in general designed to secure that it is completely isolated by vertical and

horizontal damp-proof courses from the surrounding earth, that it should have permanent ventilation in addition to the windows, and that the windows should admit as much light and air as is reasonably possible.

In 1929 the County Medical Officer estimated that there were in the County of London 30,000 occupied basement rooms legally unfit for human habitation, with a population of 100,000 persons.<sup>1</sup> He considered that some of these rooms showed the worst housing conditions to be found in the metropolis. Whatever the number in 1929, it cannot be much less now, as the efforts of local authorities to abate this evil are only successful in a very few cases every year,<sup>2</sup> while the process of letting off fresh basements has certainly not been checked. In fact, the letting of the basement to a working-class family is not infrequently the first step in the decline of a middle-class house into a slum "tenement house."

The L.C.C. by-laws for houses "let in lodgings"<sup>3</sup> provide for registration and inspection of "tenement houses", set up a standard of crowding which may not be exceeded, and contain regulations for enforcing repairs and cleanliness, for ensuring adequate sanitary and domestic accommodation for the different families, and the lighting and ventilation of common staircases and passages. The standard of permissible crowding is not less than 400 cubic feet of air space per head for sleeping purposes, and separate sleeping-rooms for the sexes after the age of 12. This standard applies already to decontrolled houses, but for houses still subject in whole or part to rent control it is modified in two ways: (i) a child under ten need only be allotted half the air-space required for an adult, (ii) in rooms used solely as sleeping-rooms the minimum air-space is reduced to 300 cubic feet per head and 150 cubic feet for a child. The effect of the standard may be illustrated with reference to the second-floor rooms of the house described under Type B.

<sup>1</sup> L.C.C. *Annual Public Health Report*, 1929, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> 297 in 1931. L.C.C. *Annual Report of Council*, 1931, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., let off in separate tenements, though structurally undivided.

*Type B. 104 . . . . . Street, N.W.*

1. Room . . . . .	2nd floor front	2nd floor back
2. Capacity . . . . .	1,150 cubic feet	790 cubic feet
3. Use of Room . . . . .	Living and sleeping	Sleeping only
4. Standard applicable:		
(a) Controlled . . . . .	Adults: 400 cu. ft.	Adults: 300 cu. ft.
	Children: 200 „ „	Children: 150 „ „
(b) Decontrolled. . . . .	400 cu. ft. per head.	400 cu. ft. per head.
5. Permissible number of occupants:		
(a) Controlled . . . . .	2½ persons	2½ persons
(b) Decontrolled. . . . .	2 persons	1 person

Several of the regulations, including those which might necessitate considerable structural alteration, are postponed till decontrol, but sufficient of the regulations are in force to make the by-laws a very real safeguard if it could be assumed that they were enforced on all houses let out in tenements.

But in 1931 the number of "tenement houses" on the borough registers was only 20,119, whereas the Census figures show that at that time 185,587 structurally separate dwellings in the County were occupied by two, and 107,716 by more than two, families. Even when allowance is made for the facts that the by-laws do not apply to cases where the landlord resides and there is only one other family, and that the Census figures must include a considerable number of middle-class dwellings, it is clear that a large proportion of "tenement-houses" must escape registration and inspection. Inspections of registered "tenement-houses" numbered 46,940 in the course of 1931. In 851 cases additional water supply was ordered and installed. It is, however, exceedingly hard for Medical Officers to give effect to the rules about overcrowding at a time when the supply of cheap alternative accommodation is so insufficient.

## VI. SLUM CLEARANCE AND IMPROVEMENT AREAS

If a Medical Officer of Health forms the opinion that the houses in a particular area are unfit for human

habitation either on account of individual defects or the narrowness and bad arrangement of the courts and streets, it is his duty to make a representation to the local authority.<sup>1</sup> Two forms of action are then open. If the local authority is satisfied that the only effectual remedy for these evils in a particular area is complete demolition, it can declare it to be a clearance area under the provisions of the 1930 Act, and in this case after the necessary preliminaries of advertisement, hearing of appeals and confirmation (with or without modification) by the Minister of Health, a clearance order is made. After this the houses must be demolished by the owners or they may be purchased (if necessary under compulsory powers) and pulled down by the local authority. A clearance area may only include houses which are either themselves injurious to health or by their situation render other houses so, and houses in it can be purchased at site value, which is further reduced if the site is to be used for rehousing. There is an important proviso that a clearance area may only be declared if the local authority is satisfied that it can provide rehousing accommodation (not necessarily on the same site) in advance of displacement, and that with the aid of the special rehousing subsidy from the Treasury it has sufficient resources to carry the scheme through. The provision of rehousing accommodation is part and parcel of a clearance scheme and is made obligatory on the local authority when the scheme is confirmed.

If, on the other hand, the local authority is satisfied that the unhealthy area can be dealt with without wholesale demolition by such methods as enforcing repairs, abating overcrowding, demolishing the worst houses and generally opening up the district, it can declare it to be an improvement area, and deal with it piecemeal. Unlike a clearance area, an improvement area includes all the houses whether fit or unfit within its limits. Land may be purchased compulsorily, but the basis of com-

<sup>1</sup> I.e. in London the County Council for an area containing more than ten houses and the Borough Council for smaller areas.

pensation is market value, subject in certain cases to modifications.

The improvement area was an innovation introduced in the Housing Act of 1930. It has not so far proved to be a fruitful method of dealing with slum areas in London, but the financial conditions have of course been very unfavourable. Some borough councils contend that it cannot be an effective procedure in London until they are given powers to enforce the conversion of houses as distinct from mere repair. Probably, however, this is not a mere gap in the law; it covers a real obstacle, namely the economic impracticability of forcing owners to undertake expensive alterations while rents are still controlled. Under the "tenement houses" regulations a borough may contribute to the expenses of an owner undertaking costly alterations; but doubtless financial considerations deter them from using this power on a large scale.

The results of the activities<sup>1</sup> of the Metropolitan Board of Works, the London County Council and the Borough Councils, in clearing and reconstructing slum areas, are summarised in Table I, p. 218 (figures are to the end of 1932).

The first clearance scheme undertaken by the Metropolitan Board of Works was confirmed in 1876 so that the pre-War period covered by the figures is roughly three times as long as the post-War period. Clearance schemes completed before the War by all local authorities combined covered 104 acres and displaced 48,526 persons. Post-War schemes, either completed or in progress, must amount to something like a further 175 acres, the original population of which was 50,088 persons. The columns referring to "Rooms provided" show that about half of the work involved in incomplete schemes had been carried out by the end of 1932.

Comparing the original condition of areas cleared at

<sup>1</sup> These activities were carried out not under the procedure described above (which is that of the 1930 Act) but under earlier enactments. Pre-War slum clearances were unaided by the Treasury.

different dates, we find that the average density of population per acre has fallen from 466 for areas cleared before the War to 292 for areas included in completed post-War schemes. The density of houses per acre has also apparently declined, though the figures are not complete. Again, the houses demolished by the L.C.C. before the War were much more densely crowded than those included in present or projected schemes, the average density of persons per room being as high as 2.15 compared with 1.67 in L.C.C. post-War clearance areas. The figures suggest that local authorities have at least dealt with the worst areas of all, and are able now to turn their attention to less congested and less overcrowded districts.<sup>1</sup>

The average size of family living in areas which have been condemned since the War is 4.18, which is considerably above the general average of 3.48 for working-class families in the Survey Area. The point is important in considering the size of tenement required to replace slum houses.

The numbers of persons to be rehoused indicate merely the extent of the new accommodation which local authorities are bound to provide under the terms of various schemes. In post-War schemes it has proved possible to provide about 70 per cent. of this new accommodation on the old sites. But the actual persons rehoused are by no means always the same as those displaced. The latter are almost invariably offered a home in the new buildings, but a fairly large number of them refuse, owing no doubt largely to the increased rent. It has been estimated that, of the families displaced in connection with L.C.C. clearance schemes, less than half find their way into the new dwellings erected on the same site.<sup>2</sup> The future of those families which are displaced but not rehoused is a very serious problem in connection with slum clearance.

<sup>1</sup> Compare, however, the density figures given on p. 167 for the cottages described under Type A, which are not as yet included in a clearance area.

<sup>2</sup> This figure was given by Mr. Selley, Chairman of the Housing Committee of the London County Council.

## VII. THE "RE-CONDITIONING" OF WORKING-CLASS DWELLINGS

Few aspects of the Housing Problem give rise to so much division of opinion as the question of the practicability and desirability of reconditioning slum houses. The London County Council has reconditioned a considerable amount of working-class property with a view to provide housing for families displaced by clearance schemes, but except as a means to this end reconditioning plays no great part in the Council's Housing policy, as it is thought not generally to be an economic proposition. The same view is shared by some Public Utility Societies, while others conversely are convinced of its utility and in practice concern themselves with little else. The source of such diversity of opinion is twofold : (1) there are some types of houses (as for instance the cottage described under 'Type A') which no process of reconditioning could render really fit for habitation, while in other cases the brickwork of the walls and stacks may be so faulty and perished that nothing short of entire rebuilding would be of much use. In some cases the absence of a damp-proof course and surface concrete, in others the presence of bugs, may prove to be the deciding factor; (2) the term "reconditioning" is applied in some quarters to what is mere repair, while in other quarters it is reserved for conversion. As commonly used, it may mean almost anything from a coat of internal whitewash to a thorough reconstruction of all but the brick carcase of the building. This ambiguity not only leads to confusion of thought, but also makes it impossible to present any satisfactory statistics of the extent to which houses have been reconditioned in London.

Any process may fairly be termed reconditioning (as distinct from repair) which would entitle the owner of a controlled house to increase the rent. But what is more particularly meant by the term here, is any process by which a house too large for one family is adapted for occupation by several families in conformity with reason-

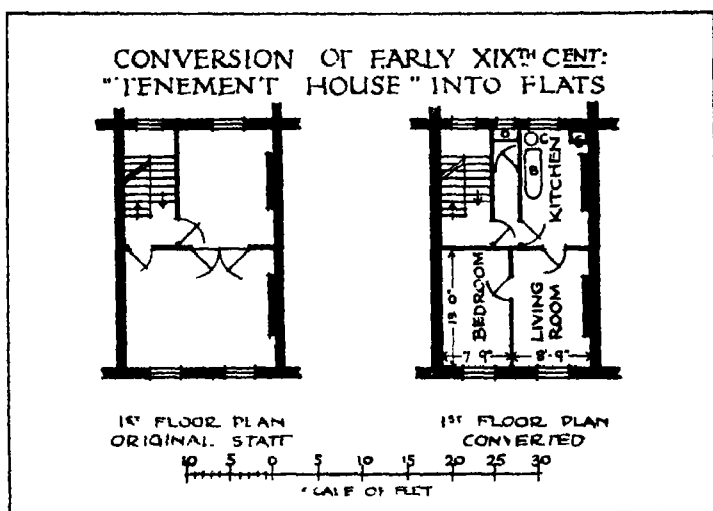
able standards of privacy and comfort. Given a building which is structurally sound, conversion of this sort is not infrequently practicable at no great cost, and where it is possible, it has many great advantages: (i) it need involve no delay at all comparable with that of clearance and reconstruction, (ii) it can be done with the minimum of disturbance to the tenants, (iii) being relatively cheap it need not entail any great addition to the rent. It thus may prove the only effective means of improving the housing conditions of the poorest families of all. But it is important to remember that it can only be satisfactorily applied to picked houses whose structural condition justifies the expense. It is rarely possible to redeem a whole area by these means, especially as this might well involve displacement of families on a considerable scale to abate overcrowding.

A successful recent example of reconditioning is illustrated by the plans on p. 199. In this case an early nineteenth-century house of eight rooms in the Inner North-West Area was converted into three self-contained dwellings, namely one-bedroom flats on the first and second floors and a two-bedroom maisonette on the ground-floor and basement (all bedrooms being above the ground level). The plaster, decoration, and most of the woodwork (including the stairs) were renewed throughout the house, and each dwelling was provided with a w.c., bath, copper, sink, kitchen range and dresser. The new partitions are of breeze-blocks with the upper part glazed. The cost of this scheme in 1932 was £232, which included about £47 for renewal of old drains. This is about £73 per dwelling or, at 5 per cent., about 1s. 5d. per week. The flats are undoubtedly very small, but this was intentional, to meet the needs of small and very poor families. Had the need been for larger flats, the front room of the first-floor flat could have remained undivided as a sitting-room and the second-floor rooms could have been used as bedrooms to the same flat. In a somewhat similar scheme in the Inner South-West Area a house of four storeys and a basement was converted



into four flats, each with two bedrooms, bathroom, w.c., ventilated larder, dresser, kitchen range and gas-cooker at a cost of about £600. The basement was used as a common washhouse and store for perambulators.

On the other hand, in one North London borough, re-conditioning of this type has proved an economic failure, owing to the poor condition of the brickwork which necessitated a considerable expenditure merely on consolidating the chimney-stacks. Work of this sort can



often usefully be undertaken by property-owners, but is less practicable for local authorities which have to buy the house first at market value. It must be remembered, however, that the main "expense" is often the loss of rent through the displacement of some of the tenants from a previously overcrowded house.

Short of conversion, there are many grades of very useful repair and renewal for which the credit of re-conditioning is claimed. These may include renewal of plaster and woodwork, redecoration, and the installation perhaps of a copper or sink with extended water supply

or a gas-cooker. An enterprising landlord by these means can often greatly improve the value of his property both to his tenants and to himself, with little or no necessary increase of rent.<sup>1</sup> But they go no way towards meeting the position revealed on p. 160, namely, the enormous deficiency of small houses and the corresponding surplus of large ones. It should be mentioned, however, that a structurally undivided house under good management admits of greater flexibility in the size of individual lettings than a house converted into flats, and is sometimes preferred on these grounds by property managers.

In passing it should be noted that there is in some quarters a strong objection to reconditioning on grounds of general policy, apart from the consideration of the circumstances of each particular case. To many minds a "clean sweep" seems much more attractive than piecemeal patching up. Added to this there may be a real fear lest the reconditioning of a few houses should hinder a more general replanning scheme. It is not, however, believed that this fear is well grounded, and it would be lamentable if such improvements in the condition of individual working-class dwellings as are practically possible were held up on account of a doctrinaire objection.

#### VIII. THE MANAGEMENT OF WORKING-CLASS DWELLINGS

One inference to be drawn from the above account is that any policy directed towards the improvement of housing conditions must, to be effective, include good management as an indispensable factor. The standard varies enormously according to the status and outlook of the landlord. Not infrequently the landlord or leaseholder is a small man who resides in one of his houses and deals personally with his tenants, collecting his own rents and attending to repairs. However sincerely such

<sup>1</sup> Especially if he permits himself to "sell improvements," by adding a weekly charge to the nominal rent.

persons may wish to play the part of good landlords, their power to do so is often limited by their small capital. Similarly, personal relations usually exist between "lessors" and their sub-tenants, with the important qualification that a lessor generally recognises no responsibility for repairs, with the result that the vital connection between the right to receive rent and the duty to maintain the property does not exist for them.

Again, there are a large number of private owners and companies holding house property in London, either in compact blocks or more usually scattered in small units over a wide area. The management of such property, which probably includes the greater part of London working-class dwellings, is generally entrusted to professional agents who look after the property of a number of owners and collect rents on a commission basis. The manner in which these duties are carried out naturally depends chiefly on the individual agent and on the views of his principals. In a fair and probably an increasing number of cases agents take an enlightened view of their responsibilities, but it is still possible to find instances in which they regard their duties as principally confined to the exaction of the maximum amount of rent from the unfortunate tenant. The active power of the unscrupulous agent for harm has, however, been restrained by the Rent Restriction Act, though the provisions of the Act designed to prevent neglect of property have not proved very effective, and the whole effect of this legislation is in many ways adverse to the good maintenance of small property.

Most of the great landed estates in London are now on lease in separate lots, and the conditions of management vary with the leaseholder, although the degree of vigilance exercised by the freeholder over the due observance of repairing leases also affects the condition of the property. A few, however, of the large estates (notably the Crown Estate in Cumberland Market and much property belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners) are now administered directly by the owners

through women estate managers trained on the principles of Octavia Hill, and the same is true of a number of estates belonging to local authorities, public utility societies and private owners.

Octavia Hill's work was founded on the conviction that there is a community of interest between landlord and tenant which can best be realised in practice if management is entrusted to educated women with practical training and experience, common sense and imagination, combined with a real feeling of friendship and sympathy for the tenants. This conception of good management as depending essentially on the personal relation of the manager with each individual tenant cannot be formulated as a system. In practice nevertheless its success has been found to rest on the maintenance of certain principles, such as the initial selection of tenants, the punctual if kindly insistence on the landlord's dues, the linking of repairs and improvements with a proper performance by the tenants of their duties, and the gradual training of the tenants in the principles of quiet and orderly life as members of a large community. For this purpose women property managers make a point of visiting each house personally and insist on retaining complete discretion in all matters affecting the tenants, including the acceptance and termination of the tenancy, rent payments and repairs. The results which are claimed for these methods—the practical elimination of arrears and loss of rent, moderate repairs and redecoration, contented and house-proud tenants with a sense of common interest, and the educative influence of the personal friendship and care of the managers—have been proved over a number of years, and are coming to be generally recognised, with the result that by 1931 the number of tenancies so managed in London had risen to upwards of 12,000 with a population of nearly 54,000. In that year, moreover, the London County Council made the important experiment of appointing two women managers as resident superintendents on their estates. The following table shows

the number of tenancies managed by trained women estate managers in London, 1931:

	Tenancies.	Population.
Commissioners of Crown Lands .	1,878	7,500
Ecclesiastical Commissioners .	2,271	10,101
Local Authorities . . .	2,213	9,161
Public Utility Societies . .	2,606	12,504
Private Owners . . .	3,333	14,707
Total . . . . .	12,301	53,973

The approximate annual rental is £417,000.

The ordinary policy of the London County Council with regard to the management of its estates, whether cottages or block dwellings, is one of modified centralisation. All estates are managed directly from the central office which is represented on the larger estates by resident superintendents and on smaller ones by resident caretakers. Applications for tenancies are received and dealt with at the central office. Originally they were considered in the order received, without priority except for families displaced by the County Council in connection with slum clearance or other improvement schemes and for families living in the County; but since the War preferences have been given on various other grounds (e.g. cases of special hardship) to ensure that so far as possible accommodation is devoted to satisfy the most pressing housing needs. The number of special cases is such that practically no accommodation is now available for the ordinary applicant. No applicant would in any case be accepted if he is already satisfactorily housed and has no urgent need to move, or if his means would command an unsubsidised dwelling. Care is taken that no family is allotted a dwelling either too large or too small for its reasonable needs, and an annual census is taken of all tenancies in order to deal with cases of overcrowding which may have subsequently arisen. An arrangement has been in force since 1924 whereby a limited proportion of the new dwellings is allocated

amongst suitable applicants recommended by the several Borough Councils in proportion to the degree of overcrowding in each borough.

Rents on the larger estates are paid weekly at the estate office, while on the smaller estates they are received by collectors; but in each case the accounts are examined at the central office which sends out all communications with regard to arrears and any consequent notices to terminate the tenancies.

Repairs are executed partly by workmen under the direction of local caretakers and superintendents, but partly also by a regular staff of jobbing workmen under the direction of the central office. In block dwellings the tenants are required to clean common staircases and landings in rotation, while the porters attend to the cleaning of yards and the lighting of staircases. On cottage estates the tenants have to maintain their own front gardens, but the hedges are trimmed as part of the general maintenance.

## IX. PUBLIC UTILITY SOCIETIES AND HOUSING TRUSTS

Considerations of management lead us naturally to the work of voluntary housing societies, which has an importance quite out of proportion to the physical impression made by them on the slum problem. Housing societies in London are of two kinds: (i) *Voluntary Housing Associations* in particular boroughs, the object of which is to create and rally public opinion in favour of the improvement of working-class housing, and to bring it to bear on the conditions in their own areas. Their activities include undertaking systematic surveys of housing conditions, and making the results known over as wide an area as possible by means of publications, meetings and propaganda generally; collecting money and influential backing for eventual schemes of improvement; advising working-class tenants with regard to their rights and helping specially distressing cases; and

co-operating with local authorities in the solution of local housing problems and bringing pressure to bear on them where necessary. (ii) *Public Utility Societies* formed in various boroughs (generally in connection with the local Housing Association) to purchase, repair and manage working-class property or alternatively to destroy the old houses and rebuild. The work of such societies, while it cannot relieve local authorities from the responsibility for maintaining and improving housing conditions, acts as an invaluable supplement to municipal housing activities. They raise money on a semi-charitable basis at a low rate of interest, and are thus generally able to charge rents which are substantially below the rents charged on County Council or Borough Council estates, though still in many cases not low enough to be available for the poorest strata of the working classes. Owing to their small capital they tend to concentrate on comparatively small areas of very bad property which for various reasons (e.g. in some cases its situation) might not prove suitable for inclusion in the more sweeping clearance schemes undertaken by local authorities. Intensive work of this nature depends very largely on the property managers, who are as a general rule women trained on the principles of Octavia Hill. The experience of these women and their understanding of individual tenants frequently enables the Public Utility Societies to rehouse a much greater proportion of the families displaced than is possible for local authorities, and for the same reason they are more easily able to adapt the type of dwellings erected to the needs of a particular area than is possible in municipal schemes whose greater scale demands more standardised treatment.

"Reconditioning" carried out by these societies is of relatively greater importance than their rebuilding activities, since, in the absence of any substantial programme of reconditioning on the part of the local authorities, they are (apart from private ventures) the only bodies which combine a policy of reconditioning with a guarantee

of careful management in the future. It would, however, be a narrow view which would limit the influence of voluntary societies to their direct effect upon housing conditions, which, as the table on p. 162 shows, is not yet very great. They are mostly of comparatively recent origin and have already proved their worth as providing the only effective means for bringing private energies and enthusiasm to bear on the Housing Problem. Their indirect influence through the inculcation of ideals of benevolent management among owners of working-class property and the fostering of a social conscience among the public at large, is impossible to estimate but must be very great.

For many years past a steady supply of working-class dwellings has been provided by certain philanthropic foundations commonly known as Housing Trusts, whose work until the War was peculiar to London. The most venerable of these, the Peabody Donation Fund, was originally founded by George Peabody as early as 1862 with a gift of £150,000, and has since been greatly increased by various other donations both from Mr. Peabody and from other donors. The Peabody Fund became the model for three other foundations, namely, the Guinness Trust (1889), the Sutton Dwellings Trust (1894),<sup>1</sup> and the Samuel Lewis Trust (1909).

The methods adopted by all of these Trusts are similar. The initial donation or bequest was invested in acquiring sites and erecting block dwellings for working-class families. The rents on these estates are calculated on the basis of a fixed annual ratio of profit, usually 3 per cent., and the net income is allowed to accumulate at compound interest until with the addition of any subsequent donations there is sufficient capital available to develop a new estate. Every new venture is thus followed by a period of quiescence while capital accumulates for a further extension of the work. The position of the Trusts at the end of 1932 was as follows:

<sup>1</sup> This is the date of Mr. Sutton's bequest. The actual Trust was not founded till 1927.



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	Total Capital.	Value of Sites and Buildings at cost.
	£	£
Peabody . . .	2,770,190	2,679,858
Guinness . . .	1,019,661	980,399
Sutton . . .	3,545,772	2,057,024 (£981,009 in
Lewis . . .	1,084,423	1,041,275 London)
	£8,420,046	£6,758,556 (£5,682,541 in London)

Thus of the total combined capital, exactly 80 per cent. was invested in housing estates. The bulk of the remainder belonged to the Sutton Trust, which is engaged on a scheme for 99 dwellings in Kensington and is contemplating considerable activity in the provinces.

The following table shows the number, sizes and local distribution of the dwellings provided by the Housing Trusts in London to the end of 1932.

SIZES AND LOCAL DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS PROVIDED BY HOUSING TRUSTS TO THE END OF 1932.

Groups of Boroughs	Size of Dwellings					All Dwellings	
	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	4 or 5 rooms	6 rooms	Total	No per 1,000
Inner North . . .	837	2,241	1,636	179	1	4,894	342
Outer North . . .	515	1,691	2,334	741	44 <sup>1</sup>	5,385	379
Inner South . . .	448	1,166	998	107	—	2,629	185
Outer South . . .	161	511	354	26	146 <sup>2</sup>	1,158	83
External . . .	—	—	—	—	154 <sup>2</sup>	154	11
All Dwellings . . .	1,961	5,599	5,262	1,053	345	14,220	1,000
Per 1,000 . . .	138	394	370	74	24	—	1,000

<sup>1</sup> Includes 33 cottages.

<sup>2</sup> Cottages.

As will be seen, practically the whole of the accommodation provided is in the form of block dwellings, and more than 70 per cent. of it is situated north of the Thames. The oldest blocks of flats were mostly of the "open" type with few rooms, and did not differ very much from the general run of late nineteenth-century commercial block dwellings. The phrase "Peabody Build-

ings" has passed into the English language as a term for this type of block dwelling. Self-contained flats were first provided by the Peabody Fund in 1912, and the great change in standards and habits at the time of the War has led to the general adoption of a larger type of dwelling similar to that provided by the County Council (Type G). This change is illustrated by the following comparison between the sizes of dwellings provided by the Housing Trusts in London before and since the end of the War respectively.

#### HOUSING TRUSTS IN LONDON.

Relative Sizes of Earlier and Later Dwellings (per 1,000 Dwellings).

	Pre-war and War-time.	Post-war.
1 room . . . . .	180	35
2 rooms . . . . .	442	154
3 rooms . . . . .	352	547
4 rooms . . . . .	26	260
5 rooms . . . . .	—	3
	1,000	1,000

The difference in size is even greater than might appear, as the post-war dwellings almost without exception have their own offices for cooking, washing, bathing, etc., in addition to the habitable rooms, whereas in most of the pre-war buildings provision for cooking was made in the living-room, and sinks and washing facilities were shared. Conversely, some of the earlier blocks contained laundries and common rooms for the joint use of tenants, which have been omitted in later buildings.

The management of estates owned by the Housing Trusts is broadly comparable to the methods of the London County Council. The estates are looked after by resident superintendents or caretakers, who collect the rents. Apart from this all formal relations with the tenants, including the acceptance or termination of the tenancy, arrears of rent and so forth, are conducted through the central office.

The principles on which dwellings are allotted are naturally not so elaborate as those followed by the County Council with its carefully graded system of preferences. Great care, however, is exercised in accepting tenants, the aim being to provide dwellings chiefly for the poorer families among the working-classes. As between two families otherwise equally eligible, preference is generally given to the family with the smaller income.

#### X. FROM WHAT CLASS ARE THE OCCUPIERS OF LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL DWELLINGS DRAWN?

Table I gives such information as can be extracted from statistical evidence about families displaced in slum-clearance schemes. It may be asked how far these families are provided for by the housing and re-housing activities of local authorities and others. What classes of tenant are in fact accommodated by Council dwellings? Where and how were they living before they became municipal tenants? Very little definite evidence bearing on these questions has hitherto been available, and for this reason varying opinions have been formed of the efficacy of recent municipal housing and re-housing policy. Now, however, through the courtesy of the London County Council, access has been obtained to material which enables us to answer these questions with some measure of certainty in so far as they apply to tenants of L.C.C. dwellings. All applicants for Council dwellings are required to fill up an application form giving in fair detail particulars of their previous residence, the rent paid and the number of rooms occupied, the composition of the family and the wages earned. The forms relating to successful applicants are all filed for reference and thus together form a mass of material from which by proper sampling methods a great deal of information can be extracted about the conditions under which the Council's tenants were living at the time when they made application for a Council dwelling. The method of sampling is briefly described in a note on

p. 217. For this purpose the ordinary distinction between housing and re-housing estates has not been followed, for the reason that the distinction is one rather of form and procedure than of type of dwelling or tenant. The important distinction for our purposes is that between the cottage estates and the blocks of workmen's flats, and this distinction has been followed in the tabulation with some rather striking results. The results of the investigation are set out in Tables II and III, which enable a comparison to be made between the previous circumstances of the tenants of cottage estates and of the block dwellings.<sup>1</sup>

Taking first the composition of the family, we find that the average size of family entering the Council's dwellings, both on the cottage estates and in the block dwellings, considerably exceeds the average, the average number of persons per household in block dwellings being 4.92 and on the cottage estates 4.7, compared with 3.67 for working-class families with earners in the Survey Area. There is, however, a striking difference in the average number of wage-earners per family, which for tenants of the block dwellings amounts to no less than 2.26. This greatly exceeds the average number of earners for working-class families with earners in the Survey Area, which is only 1.72. However, as the families are also larger the proportion of wage-earners in the constitution of the average family is about the same as that revealed by the House Sample,<sup>2</sup> i.e. just over half the average family consists of dependants. On the other hand, among tenants of the cottage estates the number of earners per family was only 1.49, or considerably

<sup>1</sup> Naturally the application forms give no information as to the present circumstances of L.C.C. tenants, but only the circumstances under which they were living *immediately before moving into the Council's dwellings*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 34.

Families with Earners.	Tenants of		
	Block Dwellings.	Cottage Estates.	House Sample.
(1) Average size of family	4.92	4.7	3.67
(2) Average number of earners	2.26	1.49	1.72
(3) Proportion of earners to family	46%	32%	47%

less than the average, and as moreover families are larger than the average obtained by the House Sample the average family contains about two dependants for every wage-earner. We are perhaps justified in assuming that these additional dependants are in the main children, and that on the whole the families moving out to the cottage estates are younger than those entering the block dwellings. The prevalence of large families on the Council's estates is no doubt mainly due to the principles on which dwellings are allotted; for while no preference is explicitly given to large families as such, one of the principles followed in the letting of dwellings is that no tenant should be given a dwelling which is too large for the family's needs. Families of above the average size are thus automatically preferred for all dwellings with two bedrooms and upwards.

In Table II, p. 219, the tenants of block dwellings and cottage estates are classified according to place of previous residence. The results briefly summarised are as follows:

	Place of Previous Residence. (per thousand of total).	
	Block Dwellings.	Cottage Estates.
Inner Boroughs . . . . .	650	228
Outer and External Boroughs . . . . .	338	706
Outside Survey Area . . . . .	12	66
	1,000	1,000

A superficial inference from this would be that the cottage estates draw their tenants primarily from the outer and external boroughs which are nearest to them, while the block dwellings cater chiefly for more central districts. This suggestion however cannot be accepted in its entirety. Actually, if we consider the numbers of families moving from each district into the cottage estates in relation to the total number of working-class families resident in these districts, we find that the proportion does not vary very greatly throughout London,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Inner South-East Area may be considered anomalous: it is very small, consisting of Bermondsey only, from which a large number of families have removed to Downham and Bellingham.

and it is in fact lowest in the Outer South boroughs which closely adjoin several important cottage estates. It appears therefore that in peopling the cottage estates the accident of contiguity has not had much effect, the tenants being drawn fairly evenly from all parts of London in about the proportions which might be anticipated from the total number of families in each region.

On the other hand, the block dwellings appear to draw their tenants largely from their immediate surroundings. The tenants drawn from inner districts (where most of the block dwellings are situated) bear on the whole a much higher proportion to the total number of families living in these districts than do those drawn from outer districts to the families living in outer districts. The Inner North-West district has, however, an exceptionally low percentage, and it is interesting to note that in the three boroughs comprised in this district (Finsbury, Holborn and Westminster) the County Council has built no new block dwelling since the War.<sup>1</sup>

A corresponding classification based on the previous place of work shows that about half the wage-earning tenants on cottage estates originally worked in the inner districts. For the tenants of block dwellings the proportion of wage-earners originally working in inner districts is about the same as the proportion of families drawn from homes in those districts. The figures naturally do not show how many tenants changed place of work with their place of residence. The summarised figures are:

	Place of Work. (Families per 1,000 of total.)	
	Block Dwellings.	Cottage Estates.
Inner Boroughs . . . . .	655	508
Outer and External Boroughs . . . . .	292	382
Outside Survey Area . . . . .	53	110
	1,000	1,000

Turning from place of origin to economic condition,

<sup>1</sup> See Table IV, p. 221.

there is a strong contrast between the average previous wage of the chief earner of families entering the cottages and the "buildings." For the former, the median wage was 75s.; in a third of the total number of families the chief earner's wage was over 80s., and in nearly one-half it was from 60s. 1d. to 80s. For tenants entering the block dwellings, the median wage was only 60s. 6d. Less than one-eighth of the families had an earner bringing in more than 80s. a week, and less than two-fifths had a wage of 60s. 1d. to 80s.

It must be remembered that owing to the greater number of wage-earners in families entering the block dwellings, a comparison between weekly family incomes would not show so great a contrast. Indeed, it is possible that the average weekly income of families applying for the block dwellings is not very much below that of applicants for cottages on L.C.C. estates.

It is a curious fact that the families moving into the cottage estates were living previously under conditions of greater crowding than the tenants of the block dwellings. The following figures supplement Table III:

CONDITION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF FAMILIES NOW OCCUPYING L.C.C. DWELLINGS.

Families now Living in	Average No. of Persons per Room.	Average No. of Rooms per Family.	Percentage Living 2 or more Persons to a Room.		Percentage Living more than 3 Per- sons to a Room.	
			Families.	Persons.	Families.	Persons.
Cottage Estates	1.92	2.42	58.2	65.2	17	21
Block Dwellings	1.84	2.78	49.7	56.9	15	17

The average number of persons per room is comparable with that found in the Census enumeration districts which are most seriously overcrowded.<sup>1</sup>

Thus on purely numerical tests the tenants of cottage estates are shown to have been living previously under

<sup>1</sup> Volume III, p. 224.

more crowded conditions than the tenants of block dwellings. But it is well to bear in mind our provisional conclusion that the families entering the cottage estates contained a larger proportion of children than those applying for the block dwellings. In determining the ratio of persons to rooms children count as highly as adults, but they clearly do not require as much space in practice. The difference in previous overcrowding between the tenants of cottage estates and of the block dwellings is therefore probably less than might appear at first sight.

The average rent paid by families before entering the cottage estates was 12·5 shillings per tenement, as compared with 10·1 shillings for families before entering the block dwellings. According to the House Sample inquiry the average rent per working-class family over the whole Survey Area was just under 12s. Interesting however as it is to learn that the tenants of block dwellings were previously paying less than the average working-class rent, it must be remembered that the tenements which they originally occupied were a good deal smaller than the average, so that the rent paid per room was not far from the average working-class level. The same consideration applies also to the tenants of cottage estates. The rents previously paid by the tenants of cottage estates were on an altogether higher scale than those paid by the tenants of block dwellings. Not only is this clear from the general average and the average for tenements of various sizes, but in a fairly large number of cases cottage tenants were paying really high rents. Rents of £1 and over amounted to 11½ per cent. of the total, a quarter of these being for tenements of one or two rooms, and there were cases of 30s. being paid for single-roomed tenements. With tenants of the block dwellings 13s. was the maximum rent paid per room, and rents of £1 and over amount only to 4 per cent. of the total.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the families by which the cottage estates have been populated belong



in the main to a much higher economic grade than those who occupy the block dwellings. The latter appear from the lower average wages to belong to a definitely poorer stratum, but are possibly enabled to afford the fairly high rents demanded in the block dwellings by the fact that they have a relatively large number of wage-earners bringing in money. Those families which move into the cottage estates appear to be on the whole younger and able to move to a distance, partly perhaps through lack of the strong local ties which bind a family of adults to their home surroundings, partly no doubt owing to the fact that with fewer adults there are fewer fares to pay.

Since of all housing defects overcrowding is admittedly the most serious, the cottage estates appear to be vindicated as an essential element in the solution of the housing problem. They have provided an outlet for numerous families which, while ready and able to afford better homes at a distance from the centre, had hitherto been condemned by the shortage to live under conditions of serious congestion. It is natural that advantage of this provision should have been taken chiefly by the more prosperous working-class families. The provision of homes for these families on the outskirts of London must thus be regarded as an indispensable part of post-war housing policy.

## XI. CONCLUSION

At the present moment "Slum Clearance" is in popular estimation the sovereign remedy for bad housing, and in truth the intensity of the need for clearing and replanning many of the congested areas in London can hardly be exaggerated. Most of the slum houses of to-day were built at a time when modern methods of protection against damp and modern standards of sanitary and domestic accommodation were unknown. Many of them are in disrepair and verminous; most of them are seriously overcrowded. A large number of them are irreparable and ought to be pulled down. Further, in many cases the root cause of slum conditions is the existence of physical

obstructions such as railways, gas-works, or dockyards which impede the healthy flow of population so that the street becomes a stagnant backwater. Such cases call clearly for drastic replanning.

Nothing, however, is gained by ignoring the great practical difficulties which a large-scale clearance policy involves. All schemes of clearance require the temporary displacement of families, and in view of existing overcrowding and the occupation of basements the displacement is likely to be permanent for a good many of them, in spite of the increase of height in rebuilding. There is often no appreciable margin of dwellings available in the neighbourhood for the displaced families, and their removal is rendered difficult and slow by the Rent Restriction Act. Not only is the purchase of areas for clearance and the carrying out of rebuilding a very costly matter (not to mention the intricate legal and other preliminary work in dealing with the multitudinous interests of property owners) but the revenue to be expected from rentals is likely to be less than that received from existing tenants, on the assumption that overcrowding is abolished and the same class of tenants rehoused in smaller numbers and at not excessive rentals.

None of these difficulties is of itself insuperable, given the necessary determination, judgment, patience and financial strength in applying a policy of slum-clearance. But their formidable character may well incline us to look more favourably on the less drastic policy of the "improvement area" (or some analogous machinery designed to achieve the same objects) and to attach importance to what is sometimes regarded as the makeshift device of "reconditioning," not as an alternative to slum clearance but as a valuable supplementary method of dealing with slum or semi-slum conditions.

The London Housing Problem has many aspects and must be attacked not by one but by many methods concurrently. But whatever be the line of approach it will usually be found that the master-key to the problem is firm, intelligent and sympathetic management of house-

property. Where this condition is fulfilled much can be accomplished: where it is neglected there is little hope of real advance.

NOTE ON THE SAMPLE OF TENANTS OF  
LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL DWELLINGS

TABLES II and III are based on a sample taken in 1930 of all application forms received from 1918 to 1929 inclusive from persons who were accepted as tenants of dwellings owned and managed by the L.C.C. For the purposes of administration these application forms are filed in alphabetical order of estates, and in alphabetical order of streets or blocks within each estate and finally in numerical order of dwellings within each street or block; and are done up in bundles of approximately fifty. A sample of one in twenty-five was taken for the Cottage Estates by extracting the third from the beginning and the third from the end of each bundle of application forms. For the Block Dwellings a sample of one in five of the application forms was taken by extracting the 1st, 6th, 11th, etc., from each bundle of fifty. Forms relating to a transfer from another L.C.C. dwelling were rejected and the next form taken instead. Particulars were thus obtained for 1,900 of the tenants of Cottage Estates and for 420 of the tenants of Block Dwellings.

## CHAPTER IX · TABLES

TABLE I  
CLEARANCE AND RECONSTRUCTION OF UNHEALTHY AREAS  
A *Pre War Schemes*

Authority	Acreage	Accommodation Destroyed			Accommodation Provided		
		Rooms	Persons	Persons	Rooms	Persons	Persons
Metropolitan Board of Works and London County Council	97.22	21 089	45 438	41,798 *	20,899	41,798 *	
Borough Councils and City Corporation	6.93	— 1	3 088	3 028	1,514	3 028	
Total	104.15	— 1	48 526	44,826 *	22,413	44,826 *	

B <i>Post-War Schemes</i>							
Schemes	Acreage	Accommodation Destroyed			Accommodation Provided		
		Tenement Houses	Rooms	Persons	By Terms of Schemes of 1932	Within Area	Else where
Completed Schemes	44.38	1 909	7 089	11 827	5 968	6 027	7,600
	15.12	640	— 1	4 196	2 194	2,431	2,337
	59.50	2 549	—	16 223	8 362	8,458	9,937
(a) London County Council							3 255
(b) Boroughs and City Corporation							1 839
(c) Total							15 031
Schemes in progress and projected *	76.07	3 031	11 144	22 052	13 728	6 866	—
	40.00 †	— 1	— 1	11 813	4 725 ‡	2 167	—
	116.07 †	—	—	3,865	17 923 ‡	9 033	—
(a) London County Council							22,049
(b) Boroughs and City Corporation							11,813
(c) Total							33,862

\* Information not available or incomplete

† Schemes in progress, authorized, or submitted for confirmation by March 31, 1933

‡ Estimated

TABLE II  
PREVIOUS CONDITION OF FAMILIES OF TENANTS OF LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL DWELLINGS COMPARED WITH ALL WORKING-  
CLASS FAMILIES IN SURVEY AREA  
Place of Residence and Work, and Wage of Chief Earner and Number of Earners per Family

District	Tenants of L.C.C. Cottage Estates					Tenants of L.C.C. Block Dwellings					All Working-class Families (according to House Sample Inquiry)				
	Place of Residence	per 1,000 Families	per 1,000 Renting Families	Place of Residence	Previous	Place of Residence	per 1,000 Families	per 1,000 Renting Families	Place of Residence	Previous	Average No. of Families with Earners	Median Weekly Wage of Adult Workman	Average No. of Earners per Family with Earners	Percentage of Persons living at or more than Room	
<b>Eastern Survey Area</b>															
Inner North	84	14.9	70	72	1.54	3.5	12.9	2.7	67.5	2.10	60.5	1.90	45		
Inner South	40	26.4	27	74	1.56	8.5	12.5	90	55.5	2.33	60	1.87	53		
Outer North	116	1.5	67	77	1.51	4	4	44	57	2.0	65.5	1.78	26		
Outer South	93	11.6	70	74	1.40	5	1.5	47	60	2.68	61	1.53	16		
Eastern Sector of County	333	15.8	234	74.5	1.52	4.1	5	3.98	60.5	2.39	—	1.71	—		
External Boroughs	7/8	6.3	35	78.5	1.39	—	—	—	—	—	61.5	1.84	20		
Total, E. Survey Area	411	12.3	269	75	1.46	4.60	3.3	3.60	60.5	2.39	62	1.78	26		
<b>Western Survey Area</b>															
Inner North	46	13.8	354	76	1.63	1.7	1.1	1.6	60	2.29	60.5	1.63	36		
Inner South	58	13.2	57	74	1.56	2.20	11.1	10.2	50	2.24	51.5	1.72	32		
Outer North (1)	181	11.6	91	76	1.56	12.3	2.3	90	56.5	2.18	61.5	1.70	29		
Outer North (2)	96	11.7	62	75	1.64	1.9	5	26	70	1.75	59.0	1.62	33		
Outer South	142	10.5	57	75.5	1.35	1.0	2.0	8.5	65	1.06	61.0	1.64	16		
Western Sector of County	553	12.6	621	74.5	1.52	4.99	2.7	5.59	60.5	2.14	—	1.66	26		
Rest of Greater London	43	—	95	78	1.36	12	—	53	70	1.4	—	—	—		
Outside Greater London	23	—	12	74.5	1.37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Grand Total	1,000	—	1,000	75	1.40	1,000	—	1,000	60.5	2.6	61.5	1.72	25		

<sup>1</sup> The districts correspond with those adopted for the Street Survey (see p. 131).

TABLE III

PREVIOUS CONDITION OF FAMILIES OF TENANTS OF LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL DWELLINGS COMPARED WITH ALL WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES IN SURVEY AREA.

Number and Rent of Rooms *previously* occupied and extent of Over-crowding

Number of Rooms in Dwelling previously occupied by Family	Number of Families (per 1,000) with following Number of Persons							Number of Families per 1,000 with 2 or more Persons per Room	Average Weekly Rent	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more	Total	Per Tenement	Per Room
<i>(a) L.C.C. Cottage Estates</i>										
1	—	8	36	39	32	19	11	165	165	8 9
2	—	12	102	136	93	51	45	439	3.5	11 1
3	—	7	52	69	46	34	44	252	7 5	4 2
4	—	2	19	25	23	11	4	104	14	16 9
5 or more	—	1	5	5	12	7	10	40	10 2	3 8
Total	—	30	214	294	206	122	134	1,000	58	11 5

*(b) L.C.C. Block Dwellings.*

1	7	24	45	38	38	5	7	164	157	5 7	5 7
2	2	48	91	62	55	59	55	372	231	9 0	4 5
3	—	14	17	55	50	26	50	212	76	11 7	3 9
4	—	5	22	21	40	31	47	176	31	12 1	1 0
5 or more	—	—	6	7	17	17	29	76	2	17 3	3 1
Total	9	91	181	183	200	138	198	1,000	497	10 1	3 8

*(c) All Working-class Families in Survey Area (according to House Sample).*

1	64	28	13	8	3	1	1	118	54	6 2	6 2
2	27	78	52	33	18	9	9	226	71	9 8	4 9
3	14	98	81	55	31	17	18	314	35	12 2	4 1
4	2	32	62	54	34	22	24	229	14	14 3	3 6
5 or more	—	10	19	23	21	18	23	113	1	17 8	3 6
Total	107	245	228	174	106	65	75	1,000	175	11 9	4 1

TABLE IV  
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS PROVIDED BY THE LONDON  
COUNTY COUNCIL AND OPEN ON MARCH 31, 1932.

District <sup>1</sup>	Number of Tenements								
	Cottage Estates			Block Dwellings			Total		
	Pre War	Post War	Total	Pre War	Post War	Total	Pre-War	Post War	Total
<i>Eastern Survey Area</i>									
Inner North	—	—	—	1,404	1,084	2,488	1,447	1,084	2,531
South	43	—	43	435	151	586	335	151	486
Outer North	14	—	14	125	311	436	139	319	458
South	337	8,199	8,536	120	213	333	457	8,412	8,869
External Boroughs	963	23,151	24,114	—	72	72	963	23,223	24,186
Total	1,357	31,350	32,707	2,454	1,839	4,293	3,841	33,189	37,030
<i>Western Survey Area</i>									
Inner North	—	—	—	2,410	—	2,410	2,410	—	2,410
South	7	—	7	522	965	1,487	529	965	1,494
Outer North I	333	1,508	1,841	717	681	1,398	1,050	2,189	3,239
North II	—	—	—	20	20	40	—	20	20
South	1,261	1,213	2,474	296	1,488	1,784	1,347	2,701	4,048
External Boroughs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1,601	2,721	4,322	3,935	3,154	7,089	5,336	5,875	11,211
Rest of Greater London	498	9,052	9,550	—	—	—	498	9,052	9,550
GRAND TOTAL	3,456	43,123	46,579	6,479	4,993	11,472	9,875	48,116	57,991

<sup>1</sup> The districts correspond with those adopted for the Street Survey (see p. 131)

TABLE V  
NUMBER OF ROOMS IN LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL DWELLINGS (POST-WAR  
AND PRE-WAR)

Type of Dwelling and Period of Construction	Number of Rooms in Tenement					Totals
	1	2	3	4	5 and 6	
Number of Tenements						
Cottage Estates						
Pre-War . . . . .	16	190	1,433	1,267	550	3,456
Post War . . . . .	—	1,195	14,254	20,822	6,852	41,123
Total . . . . .	16	1,385	15,687	22,089	7,402	46,579
Block Dwellings						
Pre War . . . . .	191	3,355	2,638	338	17	6,539
Post-War . . . . .	56	963	2,721	844	289	4,873
Total . . . . .	247	4,318	5,359	1,182	306	11,412
Number per 100 Tenement						
Cottage Estates						
Pre-War . . . . .	5	55	415	366	159	1,000
Post-War . . . . .	—	28	330	443	159	1,000
Total . . . . .	—	30	337	474	159	1,000
Block Dwellings						
Pre-War . . . . .	29	513	403	52	3	1,000
Post-War . . . . .	12	198	558	173	59	1,000
Total . . . . .	22	378	470	103	27	1,000
L.C.C. Rule						
(i) For Cottage Estates						
(a) Non-parlour . .	25	350	350	100	50	1,000
(b) Parlour . . . .			175			
(ii) For Block Dwellings	200	650	100			1,000



## CHAPTER X

### MIGRATION OF POPULATION

#### INTRODUCTORY

PERHAPS one day the story of the growth of our great towns in the nineteenth century will come to be told in due relation to its sequel in the twentieth century. Many writers have described the extraordinary phenomenon of the industrial revolution; how the growth of industry and of the application of power gave rise to huge agglomerations of population, in part drawn from the country-side and in part due to the high birth-rate in the towns themselves. It has yet, however, to be related how the towns, growing ever more congested in the centre with the demand for business and factory premises, began to spread rapidly outwards in widening rings, and how this tendency was aided by the growth of the means of transport, the shortening of the hours of work, the coming of electricity and the great decentralising movement of industry, and last but not least by the necessity for fresh air and open spaces.

During the twenty years from 1881 to 1901 the population of the County of London was steadily increasing until at the Census of 1901 the numbers stood at 4,537,000. About this time the check to growth set in, slight at first, but gathering force, so that the Census of 1931 could only record a population of 4,397,000. The number of persons born in London however continued to increase up to 1921, and the decline in the total population of the County was due to the decrease in the number of persons born elsewhere and living within its boundaries. The beginning of the present

century marks the point at which the emigration from the central area of the great city to its suburbs and to the rest of the country began to outweigh the natural increase in numbers and the immigration of persons from other places. During the whole period from 1881 to the present day, the natural increase of population (i.e. the excess of births over deaths) has always been greater than the increase recorded by the Census, and there has been on balance a steady outward flow; but it was not until 1901 that this process began to show itself by an actual fall in the population, as is seen in the following table:

NET OUTWARD MOVEMENT FROM THE COUNTY OF LONDON IN EA  
INTERCENSAL PERIOD, 1881-1930.  
000's.

Intercensal Period.	Births.	Deaths	Natural Increase	Recorded Increase or Decrease	Net Outward Movement.
1881-1890 <sup>1</sup>	1,327	817	510	+ 392	118
1891-1900	1,331	843	488	+ 328	160
1901-1910	1,256	714	542	- 15	557
1911-1920	1,000	652	348	- 37	385
1921-1930	818	556	262	- 87	349
Total for 50 years	5,732	3,582	2,150	+ 581	1,569

<sup>1</sup> Approximate figures

The growing volume of this outward movement may be realised when it is stated that since the beginning of the present century the number of outward migrants from the County of London was more than the whole of its natural increase in population, which amounted to well over a million persons.

#### IMMIGRATION INTO LONDON

The number of migrants into London from the rest of the British Isles followed the same course as the

population of London ; it increased till the turn of the century and then declined, the most marked decline taking place in the first decade of the century. The 1931 Census records an increase in immigrants. During the whole period, however, from 1881 onwards, with the exception of the last few years, the percentage of immigrants in the London population has steadily declined. The figures are as follows:

BIRTHPLACES OF POPULATION OF COUNTY OF LONDON<sup>1</sup> IN EACH CENSUS YEAR, 1881-1931.

Born in	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
<i>Numbers 000's.</i>						
London	2,402	2,746	3,017	3,085	3,153	3,081
Rest of British Isles	1,308	1,326	1,324	1,174	1,112	1,139
Abroad	107	136	196	210	189	172
Total	3,817	4,208	4,537	4,522	4,485	4,397
<i>Percentages</i>						
London	63.0	65.3	66.5	69.0	70.7	70.2
Rest of British Isles	34.3	31.5	29.2	26.3	25.0	25.9
Abroad	2.7	3.2	4.3	4.7	4.3	3.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> See Notes on Statistics, p. 266

Ignoring for the present the relatively small number of immigrants born outside England and Wales, we can determine the birthplaces of the rest for the period 1881-1911.

In order to bring out the relative importance of different types of contributory areas throughout the period, the various counties of England and Wales have been arranged in groups and the figures for these groups are shown in Table I, p. 261. The "Metropolitan Counties," consisting of the four adjoining London, had

on the average about 350,000 of their natives enumerated in London, or about a third of the total immigrants. The "seaboard counties" of the south and east coasts contributed at each census just under a third of the total, while the group of rural counties in the midlands sent about a fifth. The contribution of the two latter groups reached a maximum in 1891 and declined during the next two decades, particularly during the latter. Although the proportions of the total migrants who came from the three groups varied at each of the census years, yet together they sent a constant four-fifths. It is evident that the immigrant population of London during the period under review was drawn mainly from the rural counties in the south of England, i.e. those lying south of a line drawn roughly from the Wash to the mouth of the Severn.

The two groups of industrial counties in the midlands and north respectively sent roughly equal numbers of their natives to the metropolis, forming in each case between 7 and 8 per cent. of the total immigrants. There were only 10,000 natives of South Wales in London in 1881, but the number had increased to 15,000 by 1911.

Unfortunately no similar information is available after 1911. The Census report for 1931, however, contains a table showing the gain or loss by migration for various groups of counties in England and Wales,<sup>1</sup> which illustrates the changed conditions affecting migration to London since the War. Thus it appears that during the decade 1921-31 those groups of counties which formerly contributed large numbers of their natives to London showed either an actual gain or only a small loss of population by migration, while on the other hand the industrial North and Wales, from which migration to London used to be comparatively small, showed considerable losses. Evidently the high rate of unemployment in the latter areas during the post-war period has led to migration from them on a large scale.

On the other hand the south-east region, including

<sup>1</sup> Census of England and Wales, 1931. Preliminary Report, p. xiii.

London and many of the counties which formerly contributed to it, gained the greater part of this migration. In a recent paper Dr. Brinley Thomas showed that over half of the insured workers who migrated to this region during recent years came from the industrial areas of the north of England. It was noted in Volume II that there is an increasing tendency for London's domestic servants to come from the provinces, particularly from the less well employed areas.<sup>1</sup> The Census figures also show that the number of persons from the whole of Wales who were enumerated in London more than doubled in the decade ending 1931, rising from 28,000 in 1921 to 60,000.

It seems legitimate to assume that during the decade 1921-31 the numbers of immigrants from the Metropolitan Counties fell, as those from the Rural Midlands and Seaboard Counties had fallen earlier; and on the other hand the numbers from the Industrial North of England and South Wales increased rapidly, while the Industrial Midlands probably maintained an even position between the two contrasted groups.

The attraction of London's relative prosperity on the population of the more distant parts of these islands is further illustrated by a study of the figures of immigrants to London from Scotland and Ireland. The Scottish-born contingent in the London population reached a maximum of 57,000 in 1901, decreasing to 50,000 in 1921. Irish immigration was of great importance during the middle of the last century and the number of London Irish reached a maximum of 108,000 in 1851, thereafter continuously declining to 52,000 in 1921. The 1931 figures show that these trends have been upset. The London inhabitants born in Scotland in that year numbered 54,000 and those born in Ireland 64,000, increases of 4,000 and 12,000 respectively as compared with 1921. These increases amount together to three-fifths of the total increase of persons living in London who were born in the rest of the British Isles.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 449.

It is impossible on the basis of the above figures to calculate the relative proportions of the resident immigrants in London who were born in each contributory area. The foregoing discussion however explains at least in part why, in contrast with previous experience, the number of provincial-born persons in London increased slightly between 1921-31, while the proportion of natives in the population has remained almost stationary. Among the immigrants born in the provinces the urban-born from the industrial areas have tended to supplant those born in the south-eastern rural areas. London County is therefore becoming more and more a community born in urban surroundings. At the same time, although the provincial element has on the whole declined since 1881, it has during recent years been recruited more evenly from all parts of the British Isles.

London has always been the main attraction for persons coming from abroad to this country, who have added to the complexity of its population. The number of persons born abroad and enumerated in London increased steadily from 107,000 in 1881 to 210,000 in 1911 (see above Table, p. 225). The Great War involved the return of many immigrants to their native countries and led to restrictions on foreign immigration. By 1921 the immigrants from abroad living in London had fallen to 189,000, and during the post-war period the decline continued until there were only 172,000 in 1931.

These figures however conceal two opposing movements. If they are divided into persons born in foreign countries and those born in the Dominions and Colonies, it will be found that the former group decreased by 48,000 between 1911 and 1931, whereas the latter showed a continuous increase. From 1881 until the War the number of persons born in the Dominions and Colonies increased at a slow and steady rate, from 28,000 in 1881 to 35,000 in 1911. By 1931 the number reached 44,000. No doubt many who passed through London during the War made connections there which decided

them to stay. India and the three largest dominions of Australia, Canada and South Africa were responsible for over three-quarters of the overseas citizens of the Empire enumerated in London.

The census of 1931 shows that the numbers coming from practically all the European countries have continued to decline.<sup>1</sup> Frenchmen in 1931 were only two-thirds of their number in 1911, and Germans only one-third. Even the Americans who had increased to 9,000 in 1921 declined to 7,000 in 1931, but this was perhaps due to the difference of Census date.<sup>2</sup> Assuming that the present restrictions on foreign immigration remain in force, persons from the Dominions and Colonies must form an increasing proportion of those born abroad in the London population.

#### ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRANTS RECORDED IN HOUSE SAMPLE

For the purpose of comparing the characteristics of the immigrants with those of the London born, the material provided by the House Sample supplements the meagre information to be derived from the census reports. The House Sample material relates only to working-class persons, and it has been further thought advisable to confine the analysis to adult heads of households, excluding unmarried adult persons residing with their parents or relatives. Subsequent references to migrants based upon the House Sample data refer therefore only to heads of working-class households. To save time and labour the material has only been studied for the working-class boroughs lying east of the city and for a small area south of the river. A list of these boroughs is given in the table below.

The actual number of adult persons living in the whole area for whom birthplace and other particulars were extracted from the House Sample was 12,800. Whilst the chosen area cannot be described as fully

<sup>1</sup> See Note 4 on p. 267, and Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> In 1921 the Census date was in June, when a large number of American tourists are in London. In 1931 the usual date in April was reverted to.

representative of London as a whole, it does include the main working-class districts and it enables a picture typical of such districts to be drawn.<sup>1</sup>

The following table shows the distribution of birth-places for each of the boroughs included in the area:

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BIRTHPLACES OF ADULT WORKING-CLASS  
HEADS OF FAMILIES LIVING IN THE UNDERMENTIONED METROPOLITAN  
BOROUGHS

(According to the House Sample)

Borough of Residence	Men			Women			Total		
	Percentage born in								
	Lon- don	Rest of British Isles <sup>1</sup>	Abroad	Lon- don	Rest of British Isles <sup>1</sup>	Abroad	Lon- don	Rest of British Isles <sup>1</sup>	Abroad
Bermondsey	87	12	1	97	9	1	89	10	1
Deptford	77	21	2	79	20	1	78	20	2
Bethnal Green	86	7	7	87	6	7	86	7	7
Hackney	83	14	3	82	15	3	82	15	3
Poplar	83	14	3	87	11	2	85	12	3
Stepney	68	5	27	71	5	24	70	5	25
Total	80	13	7	82	12	6	81	13	6
East Ham	69	30	1	72	27	1	71	28	1
West Ham	74	24	2	77	22	1	75	23	2
Total	71	27	2	75	24	1	73	25	2
GRAND TOTAL	78	17	5	80	16	4	79	16	5

<sup>1</sup> See Notes on Statistics, p. 266

It appears from the House Sample that the proportion of immigrants who came from "rural" areas was higher in the case of women than of men, and that the farther the distance from London the smaller was the proportion

<sup>1</sup> Bearing in mind that the table relates only to adult persons belonging to the working class, the birthplace analysis approximates closely to that shown for the census in Table III, p. 263. The provincials are, however, as one would expect, drawn more from Essex, Suffolk and Kent than in the whole of the County, while the foreign born are mainly Jews. Most of the population connected with the London docks and wharves is included in the area.



of women. This does not apply to seaports. Many Londoners working in connection with shipping seem to have married women born in other seaports and eventually resided in London ; as in the case of the Portsmouth woman who married a shipwright, had her first child in her home town and now resides in Poplar near her husband's birthplace.

The Census of 1911 gave the age distribution of immigrants into London by county of birth. The immigrants were distinctly older than the rest of the population of England and Wales, 55 per cent. being between the ages of 25 and 55 compared with 40 per cent. Grouping the counties as before, we find that the persons shown in the Census who were drawn from the rural groups were older than those drawn from the industrial groups. In the two rural groups the ages tended to be higher the greater the distance of the county from London. The House Sample material relating to 1929-30 shows similar results.

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING-CLASS MEN (HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS) BORN IN "LONDON," REST OF BRITISH ISLES<sup>1</sup> AND ABROAD (ACCORDING TO THE HOUSE SAMPLE).

Age Groups.	Born in				
	"London."		Rest of British Isles. <sup>1</sup>		
			Urban. <sup>1</sup>	Rural. <sup>1</sup>	Abroad.
Under 25 . . .	3	3	2	2	1
25- . . .	25	15	10	13	11
35- . . .	27	24	20	22	22
45- . . .	23	26	24	26	37
55- . . .	13	17	22	19	13
65- . . .	7	11	17	13	11
75 and over . .	2	4	5	5	5
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> See Notes on Statistics, p. 266.

It proved possible in the case of the House Sample figures to subdivide the birthplaces for some of the groups of counties into rural and urban. The above table shows that among the immigrants from the whole country the rural-born were much older than the urban-born; and with the exception of the Home Counties a similar difference existed in each of the groups examined. Part of this difference in the age distribution probably arises from the dwindling number of immigrants from rural as compared with urban areas. As in 1911 the rural-born immigrant tended to be older the greater the distance of his birthplace from London.

Writing in 1889, Sir H. Llewellyn Smith made the tentative suggestion that the tendency for the age of the British migrant to vary directly with the distance of his birthplace from London corroborated Mr. Ravenstein's theory that people tended to move over a long distance by short stages.<sup>1</sup> The present analysis suggests that this inference now holds good only for persons born in rural areas; the persons born in urban areas appear to arrive in London at earlier ages which seem to be roughly similar, irrespective of the distance of their birthplace. At the same time it emerged from the House Sample Tables that the influence of the industrial districts seems to precipitate the movement of countrymen born close to them, while conversely the influence of rural districts seems to retard the movement of their townsmen.

Evidence of an indirect nature was obtained from the House Sample regarding the actual age at which British migrants to London made their first recorded movement from their native place to London, or to some other place and thence to London. By making use of the ages and birthplaces of the children, supported sometimes by definite statements made by the investigators, it was possible in a large number of cases of married men to determine the date and therefore the age of movement. It will be seen from the following table that the most frequent age of movement for married adults born in

<sup>1</sup> Booth, Series 1, Vol. 3, pp. 68-9.

urban areas lies somewhere in the region of 25 years. There is no such marked age of movement for persons born in rural areas; proportionately twice as many of them as compared with the urban-born moved at ages over 35, although a slightly larger proportion of them moved at ages under 25.

AGE AT FIRST MIGRATION OF MARRIED MEN (WORKING-CLASS HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS) RESIDING IN LONDON IN 1929-30.

*Born in the Rest of the British Isles.*

Age Groups.	Percentages.			
	Urban Born <sup>1</sup>	Rural Born	Skilled <sup>1</sup>	Unskilled. <sup>1</sup>
Under 20 . . . .	2	4	2	3
20- . . . .	21	22	18	32
25- . . . .	37	23	35	25
30- . . . .	24	19	27	17
35- . . . .	13	25	15	19
40 and over . . . .	3	7	3	4
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> See Notes on Statistics, p. 266.

The table shows that a similar though not so marked a difference exists between skilled and unskilled men. The skilled men on the whole moved at a later age than the unskilled, which suggests that the period necessary to acquire skill may delay the age at which movement takes place. The influence of urban surroundings in hastening the movement of workmen from their native town appears all the more remarkable from the fact that 64 per cent. of the urban-born persons included in the table were classed as skilled compared with only 48 per cent. of the rural-born.

When the number of married men who moved in each year after 1900 is compared with the annual percentage of persons unemployed returned by the trade unions, a fairly close correlation is noticeable. This correlation

is more marked in the pre-war than in the post-war period in the area examined. It should be understood, however, that relatively few of the post-war migrants from the Industrial North of England and South Wales penetrate into the part of London to which the Sample analysis relates. They tend to flow into the new industrial districts of outer London (see below, p. 253). Taking the skilled and unskilled groups separately, we find that the migration of the unskilled men seems to have been more readily affected by unemployment. The movement of the skilled men appears to have been more regular and less affected by sudden changes. Perhaps the unskilled having no settled trade and little or no savings reacted more quickly to adverse circumstances.

The provincial-born men earned slightly more than the Londoners at the time when the House Sample was taken, despite their relatively higher age distribution. The rural-born provincials however show a wage distribution nearly as low as that of the London-born. The detailed comparison is made in the following table:

PERCENTAGE WAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING-CLASS MEN BORN IN  
"LONDON," REST OF BRITISH ISLES AND ABROAD.

	Weekly Wage.			
	Under £2	£2 and under £3	£3 and over.	Total.
<i>Born in "London," all ages</i> . . . .	6	37	57	100
<i>Born in rest of British Isles:</i> <sup>1</sup>				
Urban Areas, <sup>1</sup> under 55 years of age	4	35	61	100
"    "    of and above 55 years	8	31	61	100
"    "    all ages . . . .	6	33	61	100
Rural Areas, <sup>1</sup> under 55 years of age	4	30	66	100
"    "    of and above 55 years	11	47	42	100
"    "    all ages . . . .	5	36	59	100
Total, all ages . . . . .	5	34	61	100
<i>Born abroad, all ages</i> . . . . .	7	17	76	100

<sup>1</sup> See Notes on Statistics, p. 266.

It will be seen from this table that the higher wages of the urban-born men are largely due to the fact that the wages earned by the rural-born fall off more rapidly with increasing age.

A possible explanation is that, whilst the rural-born can earn relatively high wages so long as they retain their full strength, their earning capacity falls off more rapidly on passing their prime than in the case of the urban-born migrants whose earning capacity arises more from skill and less from physical strength. But other factors are present which make this conclusion uncertain.

In the original Survey of London Life and Labour forty years or more ago attention was called to the fact that the metropolitan police force was largely recruited from persons born outside London.<sup>1</sup> This is still true, and moreover it appears from the investigation that the policemen tend to be drawn from the rural rather than from the urban provincial areas. Policemen seldom remain on active service over the age of 55, and as pensioners they serve to accentuate the contrast between the wage-earning capacity of the younger and older men born in rural areas.

Part of the difference between the wage distribution of the urban-born migrants and the native Londoners is due to the larger proportion of skilled men among the former. Yet the rural-born migrants with a lower proportion of skilled men also obtained slightly higher wages than the Londoners. In so far as the skilled men seem to be more mobile than the unskilled, it appears probable that many of these workers accustomed to a higher standard of life than their companions will generally move to obtain a larger wage. Similarly the rural born migrant may be actuated by a desire for a better standard of life and able to compete on more than equal terms with the Londoners. The mobility of the unskilled urban migrants seems closely correlated with unemployment and not solely due to a desire for a better standard of living. Lacking the physical advantages of

<sup>1</sup> Booth, Series I, Vol. 3, p. 86.

the unskilled rural migrants, their wages tend to lower the average of those of the urban migrants as a whole.

In this connection a study of the birthplaces of applicants to the London Charity Organisation Society is illuminating. In Charles Booth's Survey it was shown that 60 per cent. of the applicants for assistance to the London Charity Organisation Society were London-born, as compared with 46 per cent. of the whole adult population. As these applicants presumably belonged to the more needy stratum of the community the preponderance of Londoners among them was regarded as corroborating the general conclusion that on the whole the provincial immigrant was better off in London than the London native. By the courtesy of the Society this analysis of birthplaces of applicants has been repeated for the year 1929, with the result that the proportion of London-born among them appears to have risen to 72 per cent., as compared with about 65 per cent. for the adult population of London. Thus there is still an excess of Londoners though less marked than it was forty years ago.

The percentage distribution of provincial-born applicants according to their length of residence in London at the two dates was as follows:

	Under 1 Year	1-5 Years	5-10 Years	10-20 Years	20 Years and over.	Total
1889-90. . .	8	16	18	27	31	100
1929 . . .	15	17	13	23	32	100

The most striking thing is the increase in the proportion of applicants who had been in London less than a year. Many of these recently arrived immigrants, probably moved to London through unemployment, and belong mainly to the class of unskilled urban migrant. Such persons have helped to raise the proportion of applications from immigrants as compared with those from Londoners.

Perhaps what are even more interesting than the dif-

ferent characteristics of the British migrants are the stages in their progress from their native places to London. The material from the House Sample gives something on which to build a picture of the never-ceasing ebb and flow of the population. Given the birthplaces of a man and his wife, where their children were born, their ages and the occupation of the man, it is possible to reconstruct the movements of the family or sometimes even of certain individuals in it. When this has been done a number of times certain general types of migration begin to appear.

The most common form of migration is probably that of a young unmarried man who moves into London from one of the outlying suburbs or a neighbouring town and marries when his income is large enough. In Bermondsey, for instance (and it is much the same in the other boroughs of the group), 22 men out of 30 who had migrated to London from the four Metropolitan counties married women who were born in London. An actual instance of this is A. J., a fitter, who is now living and working in Bethnal Green. He was born in Walthamstow in Essex and, after obtaining work in Bethnal Green, settled down and married a girl who had lived there all her life.

A second type of movement is that of a man who was born in a rural district not far away from London. Very frequently such people move by degrees, first into one of the small towns round London or into one of the outlying suburbs, and then into London itself. Such was the case of H. R., a carpenter, aged 43, who was born in a rural district in Middlesex. He married a woman who was born in Edmonton and their first child was born when the father was 32 and the family had moved to Stoke Newington. Subsequently two other children were born, one in Hackney and one in Stepney. The whole family is now living in Bethnal Green.

For the migrants from rural areas farther afield the process is often rather different. There seems to be a tendency for these men to marry women from a local

country town before migrating to London, for the wives of many of the rural-born migrants were born in such country towns. For instance, B. S., a carpenter, was born in a small village some miles from Cambridge. He first moved into Cambridge, where he probably served his apprenticeship, and married a girl who was born in the town. Their first child was also born there, and it was not until the man was about 35 years old that the whole family migrated to East Ham, where they now live.

Sometimes the rural migrant has proceeded first to the neighbouring industrial district, as in the case of a man born in Shropshire who married in Lancashire and now resides in West Ham.

Some of the men born in urban areas tend to move from one industrial district to another and marry women from places often some distance from their native town. An example of this is J. B., who was born in Manchester and migrated to South Wales where he married and now resides in East Ham. Many of the urban-born men seem however to come from their native town direct to London. This partly accounts for their lower age distribution as compared with the rural-born men, who, as has been shown, tended to move in two stages.

Rail and sea transport industries produced distinct types of migration. Long-distance road transport was still comparatively young at the period when the House Sample was taken. Sailors born in one port frequently married women born in another port, and their histories show signs of residence in many different places before residing in London. Railwaymen promoted up the line sometimes married women from a station nearer London before residing there. For instance, J. F., a shunter born in Manningtree, Essex, married a woman from Billericay and now resides in West Ham, and F. B., a signaller born in Suffolk, married a woman from Chigwell and now also resides in West Ham. In other cases the man moved from his village to a job on the railway in his local town, married a woman born there



and was later promoted to London, where most of their children were born. Sometimes the man has remained single until his promotion to London, where he has married a native. Other railwaymen seem to have married women from apparently unconnected places, as in the case of E. D., a railway guard on the London and North Eastern Railway, who was born in Bethnal Green and married a girl from Bishops Stortford. On inquiry it was learned that Bishops Stortford is a place where engine drivers and guards used to stop in the middle or at the end of their shifts.

The army has a special influence on mobility because of the movement of troops from one place to another. In particular many men seem to have married women from Aldershot in Hampshire or the district round it, indicating an army career preparatory to their migration to London. From general observation of the material it also appears that men aged round about 35 tended to marry women from places with which no obvious connection could be traced. This may be due to the disturbed conditions of the War and after. During this period not only were soldiers moving frequently from one part of the country to another, but munition workers were also drafted into special areas to concentrate production. Women also took jobs which must have resulted in a quite unusual distribution of women from their birthplaces.

When a person moves to London from the country, the part of London to which he goes seems very often to be determined by the fact that relatives or friends already live there. The influence of family ties must be considerable, and probably occupies a large place among the motives determining the final destination of a migrant. One side of this is illustrated by the case of W. S., which is typical of many that could be selected. He was born in a town in Kent and married a woman from Deptford. For a time the family lived in the husband's native town, where two of their children were born. Subsequently the family migrated to Deptford and settled down close

to the woman's birthplace, where their third child was born shortly afterwards.

Jews form by far the largest part of the foreign-born working-class population of London, particularly in the area under examination, the remainder consisting mainly of persons of European nationalities, who are chiefly engaged in commerce, in the manufacture of food and drink, and as waiters and domestic servants.

The age distribution of the Jews indicates an old population, which of course mainly reflects the post-war restrictions on foreign immigration. Two-thirds of the foreign-born adult males, compared with under half the Londoners, were over 45 years of age (see Table above, p. 231). The wage distribution of the men is remarkably high, largely due to the high proportion of skilled workers such as tailors and cabinet-makers and furriers. Practically all of them came to London direct from their birthplaces abroad. It is difficult to tell where their marriages took place, as the majority of the children were born in London. From other evidence it is known that the major part of the immigration of the Jews took place between 1890 and 1907, so that most of the persons between 25 and 45 were probably brought to London as children by their parents. A few of the families showed signs of different settlements in other cities of Europe, particularly one family where the parents were born in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) and had children born to them in Vienna, Berne, Paris and Calais respectively. After this progression towards the west they settled in Edinburgh, where the father died, and the family now reside in Hackney.

#### INTER-BOROUGH MOVEMENT WITHIN LONDON

Apart from any general movement of population outwards or inwards there is continual interchange of population among the boroughs within the Metropolis. Nevertheless, the London-born population<sup>1</sup> of most

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of the House Sample analysis of birthplaces East and West Ham are included in London.

boroughs is largely made up of natives of the borough and natives of the adjoining boroughs.

The extent to which natives predominate depends partly upon the size of the borough, since if the borough is large there is usually more room for internal movement without crossing its boundaries. London local attachments are not so much towards the borough, which is a purely administrative entity created only thirty years ago, as towards the social centre of a district, usually much smaller than a borough and often possessing an old local name, such as Brixton, Kennington and Norwood in Lambeth, or Whitechapel, Mile End and Limehouse in Stepney. It will be seen from the area examined by the House Sample method in Table V that the proportion of natives among the Londoners depends also to a large extent upon the proximity of the borough to the central non-residential area of the Metropolis. Stepney, Bermondsey and Bethnal Green, boroughs of the inner ring, have proportions ranging from 78 per cent. to 63 per cent. compared with the low proportions, ranging from 22 per cent. to 53 per cent. for East Ham, Hackney and West Ham. At the same time the inner boroughs recruited relatively few Londoners from a distance, the major part of the non-natives coming from the adjoining boroughs. Women tended to move from the borough of their birth more than the men. In most of the boroughs examined, a larger number of women than men came from the adjoining ones and about equal numbers from the other more remote boroughs, with a slight tendency for the women to come from a rather wider area than the men.

The following table and the map on p. 243 have been prepared to show the general drift of population in the area. The table shows the "net interchange" of population between the eight boroughs, i.e. after subtracting all natives of borough A living in borough B from all natives of borough B living in borough A. The total balance of loss or gain indicates the flow of population when the minor currents have been eliminated.

# NET MOVEMENT BETWEEN BOROUGH OF BIRTH AND BOROUGH OF RESIDENCE OF ADULTS (WORKING-CLASS).

Number per 1,000.

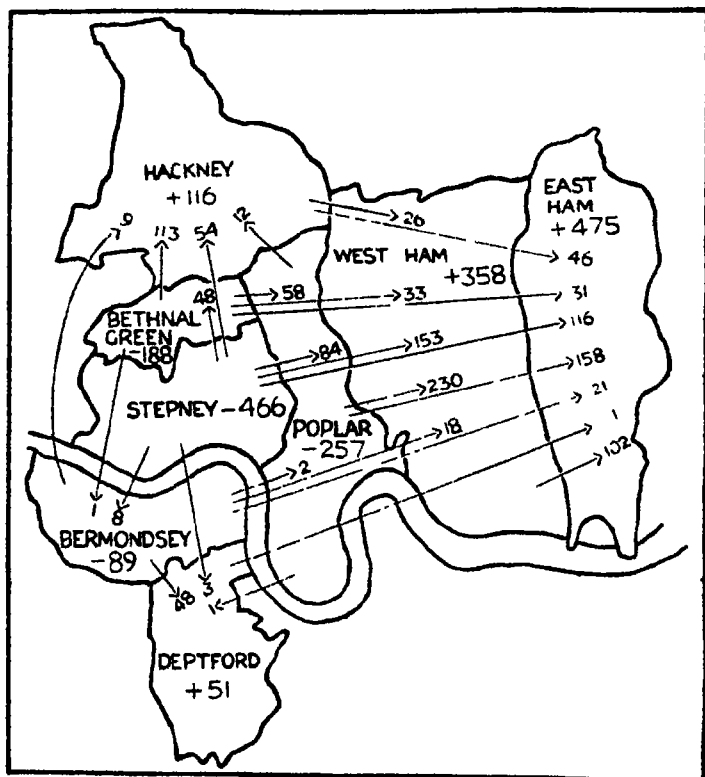
Boroughs	Net (gain (+) from or loss (-) to								Total Net Gain or Loss
	Bermond- sey	Dept- ford	Bethnal Green	Hack- ney	Pop- lar	Step- ney	East Ham	West Ham	
Bermondsey . . .	—	-48	-1	-9	—	—	—	—	—
Deptford . . .	+48	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	+51
Bethnal Green . . .	-1	—	—	-113	58	46	31	-33	-188
Hackney . . .	+9	—	-113	—	+12	54	-46	-26	+116
Poplar . . .	+2	-1	58	12	—	84	158	230	-257
Stepney . . .	-8	-3	-43	-54	84	—	116	153	-466
East Ham . . .	+21	+1	+31	+46	+158	116	—	+102	+475
West Ham . . .	+18	—	+33	+26	+230	+153	-102	—	+358

A general flow outwards from the centre has apparently taken place, going mainly towards the east and to a lesser extent towards the north and south. The inner boroughs, Stepney, Bethnal Green, Bermondsey and Poplar, have all on balance lost their London-born population to the gain of the boroughs on the outskirts, particularly East Ham and West Ham. This analysis does not of course apply equally to the other central boroughs such as Shoreditch and Finsbury, while it naturally excludes all the natives of the inner boroughs like Bermondsey, who moved to boroughs outside the area examined, e.g. because they preferred to go to Lewisham or Croydon rather than to East or West Ham.

Confining attention for the present to the interchange of persons among the eight boroughs, we find that men who moved from the borough of their birth into another had an age and wage distribution distinctly different from the resident natives of both their borough of birth and residence. The migrants from one borough to another within the County were generally older than the persons who had not moved outside the borough of their birth. Compared with the natives of the two external boroughs, the immigrants were considerably older, largely due to the youth of the native population of these more recently developed areas. The wages of the migrants from one

borough to another were on the whole higher than those of the resident natives of either of the boroughs. Sometimes however there were proportionately more of them receiving lower wages. In part this was due to their higher age distribution and in part to other causes. Since movement is made up of two elements, of those in improved circumstances who wish to enjoy better surroundings, and of those who are drifting from one bad position to another equally bad or worse, some of the

MAP SHOWING NET MOVEMENTS OF ADULTS (WORKING CLASS) BETWEEN EIGHT BOROUGHS IN THE EASTERN SURVEY AREA OF LONDON.  
(For explanation, see p. 241.)



people who move will be above and some will be below the average of earning power. The wage distribution of these migrants seems to reflect the sifting of the population into residential districts characterised by different grades of income. The wage statistics of the House Sample confirms this inference. In general the average wages of men in the inner boroughs of the Survey Area were lower than those in the outer boroughs; and, excluding West Ham, the average wages in external boroughs were higher than those in the outer boroughs.<sup>1</sup>

A similar sifting seems to occur among the provincial-born population. It will be seen in Table III that the proportion of British immigrants is lowest in the poorest and most crowded working-class districts near the centre of the metropolis, and highest in the more wealthy areas of the north-west and in the residential areas near the circumference.

It has already been noted in Volume I that the group of poor boroughs lying mainly in the inner ring has lost relatively more of its provincial-born population than the rest of the County. Since 1881 these boroughs have been steadily losing this section of their population and have been mainly responsible for the decline in the County as a whole. In the ten years period between 1911 and 1921, this group of poor boroughs was responsible for about half of the total decline in the provincial-born population of the County.

This rapid decline of the provincial element in the poor "inner" boroughs must be due either to their exodus to the outer areas along with many Londoners or to their death without a compensating influx. An examination of the ages of migrants derived from the House Sample shows that in four boroughs of the group examined (Bethnal Green, Hackney, Poplar and Stepney), in which the decline has been greatest, 37 per cent. were under 45 years and 63 per cent. over that age. In Deptford, East Ham and West Ham, where the decline has not been marked, 38 per cent. were

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 78-9, and Vol III, p. 65.

under 45 years and 62 per cent. were over. This difference is insignificant and it may be inferred that the decline in the number of provincial-born persons cannot be due to their death without a compensating influx. On the contrary it is probable that, as the increase of business premises in the centre of the Metropolis puts increased pressure on the poor "inner" boroughs, relatively more of the provincial-born persons must move away to seek better living conditions elsewhere.

A type of migration which throws light on this movement is afforded by many cases in the House Sample returns, such as J. D., a Sussex man, who married a woman born in the City. They have one child born in Stepney and they now live in Poplar. Another case is D. B., who came from Kent, had children in Poplar and West Ham and now resides in East Ham.

In sympathy with the steady decline in the British immigrant population up to 1921, it will be seen from Table II that practically every borough showed a constantly increasing proportion of its population born in London. This trend however was reversed during the subsequent decade in the boroughs in the north-west sector. It is noteworthy that these boroughs contain large numbers of the wealthier classes who employ domestic servants. At one end of the scale in 1931 were Bethnal Green, Stepney and Shoreditch with 6.9, 8.6 and 8.8 per cent. respectively of their total population born outside London in England and Wales; and at the other end were Paddington, Hampstead and Westminster with 37.8, 37.9 and 39.7 per cent. respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from the anomalous figures for Stepney and Bethnal Green, due to the concentration of the Jews, the distribution of foreigners appears similar to that of the provincial-born. This similarity is however obscured by the presence of visitors, which largely accounts for the high proportions of foreigners in Holborn and West-

<sup>1</sup> See Table III.

minster. For the rest a high concentration is shown in the north-western group of boroughs. Similarly they have tended to move outwards from the centre. The figures for what they are worth show that, in 1931, 65 per cent. of those born abroad lived in the outer ring of boroughs compared with 57 per cent. in 1921. Certain of the boroughs on the circumference show significant increases during the decade in the proportion of their population born abroad, such as Stoke Newington (4.6 to 6.0 per cent.), and Hampstead (7.6 to 9.0 per cent.).

Part of the decrease in the foreign-born population in London between 1921 and 1931 amounting to 7,000 to 8,000 persons is undoubtedly due to their migration from the County to other parts of Greater London. Practically every large borough in the latter area shows an increase in this section of its population, such as Ealing, from 1,000 to 1,500. Hendon shows an outstanding increase from 1,500 to 4,600. This movement outwards from the centre is essentially similar to that of the provincial-born migrants.

At one time most of the groups of foreign-born persons segregated themselves in different localities in the inner ring of boroughs. The Jews in Whitechapel, the French in Soho, the Italians in Little Italy on the borders of Finsbury and Holborn, the Germans in the southern part of St. Pancras; all these little colonies gave Central London the appearance of a Europe in miniature. The tendency to dispersion has affected all of them. Reference to Table IV shows that many Italians are now found in the boroughs of St. Pancras and Westminster as well as a hundred or so in most of the other boroughs. Kensington, Paddington and Wandsworth include a good many Frenchmen, while the Germans are scattered pretty evenly throughout the more middle-class areas of London. The scattering of the Jews is described in more detail in Chapter XI, but the numerous boroughs in which large numbers of Russians and Poles are shown to reside in Table IV provides confirmatory evidence.



## EMIGRATION FROM LONDON

For a considerable period there has been an efflux of population from the County of London, but in recent years this movement has greatly increased in volume and has become more and more directed towards the immediately surrounding areas. The destinations of the London-born emigrants for the years 1881-1911 are shown in Table I, where it is seen that while in 1881 the number of emigrants was roughly half the number of immigrants, by 1911 they were nearly one and a half times as many. This means that, as the number of immigrants had fluctuated only slightly, the volume of emigration had practically trebled in the course of thirty years.

The movement outwards from London increased in each decade of the period, and although the number of emigrants to each of the groups of counties specified in Table I rose continuously, the number going to the Metropolitan Counties increased so much more rapidly that whereas at the beginning of the period this group of counties only absorbed half of the emigrants, by 1911 it took two-thirds. On the other hand, the share of the two rural groups fell from 28 per cent. to 21 per cent. and that of the three industrial groups from 18 per cent. to 10 per cent. Unfortunately it is impossible to carry these figures beyond 1911.

If, however, the movement of emigrants be compared with the movement of immigrants it will be noticed that, with the exception of South Wales, the groups of counties which received steadily increasing numbers of London-born persons during the period 1881-1911, had stationary or decreasing numbers of their own natives enumerated in London. This is particularly true for the Metropolitan counties and the two rural groups. It appears that during this period a strong flow in one direction usually went with a weak flow in the other. If similar conditions apply to more recent years the trend of emigration from London true of the pre-war period must have continued at an accelerated pace during the last ten years, and the

major portion of the emigrants, perhaps as many as three-quarters, must now be living in the Metropolitan counties. The rapid rate of increase has also extended to the four adjacent counties of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. The counties in the rural midlands and the seaboard counties probably account for about 9 per cent. each, while the share of the three industrial groups together can hardly be more than about 7 per cent. The trend of migration in the country as a whole referred to on p. 226 would seem to confirm this conclusion, particularly when it is realised that the four metropolitan counties must have gained at least 700,000 persons by migration during the ten years ending 1931.

The storehouse of the 1911 census contains a table giving the sex and age distribution of Londoners enumerated in each of the counties of England and Wales. Classifying the emigrants into the same groups of counties as those shown in Table I, we find that those in each of the broad divisions of Metropolitan, Rural and Industrial counties possessed distinct characteristics, which may be the net results of movements of different types.

The sex ratio differed as between the groups. Women were greatly in excess in the seaboard counties, the margin decreasing in the Rural Midlands and Metropolitan counties. In the Industrial counties the sexes were represented in more or less equal numbers.

The southern and mainly rural counties had a more normal age distribution than the industrial areas, which showed a deficiency of young persons and a concentration in the middle years of life between 20 and 45. The Metropolitan group showed the lowest age distribution, next the Rural Midlands, and lastly the seaboard counties.

It may be inferred from the foregoing that the Industrial counties received mainly young childless persons desiring to improve their position. Conversely the seaside appears to have attracted retired persons and their

families. Between the two extremes the Metropolitan counties and Rural Midlands seem to have drawn largely upon persons between 25 to 45 with a fairly large proportion of persons under 20.

Concentrating attention on the Metropolitan counties, which receive the great bulk of the emigrants from London, we find that the main cause of the exodus from London to them is more often the desire for better housing conditions, lower rentals, and healthier surroundings for children than the economic urge to obtain higher wages. The continual expansion of non-residential areas in the inner parts of the metropolis has put constantly increasing pressure on the inhabitants of the quarters affected to vacate their dwellings. Administrative policy has endeavoured to rehouse some of them in districts on the fringe of or outside London. Similarly private enterprise has built houses in the outlying areas to catch the overflow of a naturally increasing population. The growth of transport facilities and the shortening of hours of labour have stimulated the movement farther afield. Attempts however have also been made to utilise the inner area of London more efficiently by building blocks of flats for the working classes in place of separate dwelling-houses. This tendency may increase in strength during the next few years.

The desire for better housing conditions leads to the emergence of three more or less distinct groups of working-class migrants. On the first of the groups, viz. the artisan, clerical worker or civil servant earning more than about 70s. a week, who desires to rear his family under decent conditions, the stimulus to move operates directly. The second group, viz. lower-paid workers with similar desires, find it possible to move only if lower travelling expenses compensate for increased rent. If for example their factory or workshop migrates towards the outer zone, they will be eager to follow it. The third group consists of the families with one or more earners in addition to the head, where the increased family income arising from their supplementary earnings

and the desire of the younger members for better conditions overcome the inertia of the parents.

In Table II in the chapter on the London Housing Problem (p. 219) it will be noticed that the median wage previously earned by the chief earner of tenant families of London County Council cottage estates was 75s., and the families had a low average number of earners per family. Such families mostly belong to the first group of migrants noted above. On the other hand, the chief earner in families living in L.C.C. block dwellings had previously the much lower median wage of 60s. 6d., but the families had a very high average number of earners per family whose combined income was raised thereby. In this illustration the families have moved from their original dwelling to block dwellings mainly within the county, but such families often move to a house outside the county, and belong to the third group of migrants.

The studies of London's industries already published in Volumes II and V of the Survey often mention a tendency on the part of the industry to move to the outer zone of Greater London, sometimes accompanied by a tendency for the workers to follow.<sup>1</sup> There has been in fact a general movement of industry outwards from central London to the outer zone particularly to the north-west sector.<sup>2</sup> At first, after the removal of the factory, most of the workers travel to it daily from London. Later they seek either a new job nearer their home, or another dwelling nearer to the new factory. The chance of securing a new job under the conditions of recent years has of course varied with the state of industry and the skill of the worker, but generally speaking has not been very good. Many unemployed skilled workers living in inner London have been able to secure a job only with a new or expanding firm with its factory situated on the outskirts of London, and have later if possible moved nearer to their workplace.

In the area studied by the House Sample method for

<sup>1</sup> See Volume II, pp. 213 and 359

<sup>2</sup> See D. H. Smith's *Industries in Greater London*.

this chapter, examples of two of the above three types occur. The most common form of movement is that of the man born in Stepney or Poplar who has married a woman from one or other of these boroughs and then moved out to East or West Ham where all their children have been born. Examples of the third type are the A.s, a husband and wife, both aged 45 years and born in Stepney. Their two eldest children, aged 18 and 19 years, were born in the same borough, and subsequently twins, now aged 3, were born in East Ham, where the family is now living. Sometimes the movement out takes place in two stages conforming to the first and third types of migration. For instance, the B.s who were born in Poplar had their first child, now aged 44, in West Ham and their second, aged 28, in East Ham. In some cases the movement appeared to be spread over two generations as with the C.s, who were born in Stepney and had three sons all born in Poplar. The eldest son, now aged 30, married a woman born in West Ham, and the parents and the young couple moved to East Ham, where the son had a child, now aged 3. This tendency to move outwards in stages is probably more common than appeared in the sample, which did not include the more recently developed areas farther out. Examples of the second type of migration are in the nature of the case difficult to find, since the movement of the family cannot be correlated with the movement of the factory.

The migrants tend to sort themselves out on moving, and to reside in two distinctly different types of area. The members of the first group of migrants, who for the most part still work in London, congregate in L.C.C. cottage estates on its fringe, and in "dormitory" boroughs like East Ham or Ealing, coming up to London daily to their work. The population of such areas tends to belong predominantly to the "S" class.<sup>1</sup> Most members of the second group of migrants and some members of the third group reside close to industrialised districts, and the population of these districts tends to be composed

<sup>1</sup> For definition, see p. 119.

more equally of the "U" and "S" classes. Such mixed areas may be termed "satellite" boroughs or towns. Most of the administrative areas are large enough to contain both kinds of residential district.

In all the external boroughs in the Survey area with the exception of Hornsey, the proportion of the population belonging to the M class is relatively low. In the "satellite" town of West Ham three-fifths of the population belong to the P and U classes and only 5 per cent. to the M class. Generally, in the external boroughs of the Survey Area three-fifths of the population belong to the S class and from 10 to 15 per cent. to the M class. The M class has evidently moved still farther out, repeating the process which occurred at an earlier stage in the outer ring of London, and which was described in Volume III.<sup>1</sup> For example, in such areas as Friern Barnet and Southgate, seven-tenths of the occupied population worked elsewhere in 1921. Since that date the improvement in road and rail facilities has added to the number of new middle-class areas adjacent to older settlements, particularly in Surrey and Middlesex.

At the same time new "satellites" have gradually developed just outside London, particularly in the north-west sector. Already in 1921 over half the occupied population in some of the older urban areas of Middlesex worked in the borough or district of residence, while many other persons came out daily from London and the surrounding residential areas. Places such as Edmonton, Enfield, Southall and Uxbridge had already become manufacturing as well as residential. Hayes, Hendon and Greenford, among others, have been added to the list since 1921. The population of many of them has increased very rapidly during the last decade owing mainly to migration from London and elsewhere.

An illustration of the new mixing of the population which is taking place in the "satellite" towns of London is afforded by the composition of an adult education class held in 1931 at Southall in Middlesex, nine miles from

<sup>1</sup> P. 142.

Paddington, where about half the students were found to be born in London and the other half in a variety of towns chiefly in Lancashire and Yorkshire. One Londoner, a fitter, whose case typifies the others, was born at King's Cross in Islington. After losing his job in London he secured one with an aircraft firm near Southall. For some years he travelled daily the long journey out from his home, having to rise at 5.30 each morning. On marrying a King's Cross woman, the couple decided to move out to Southall, where they have resided for three years. The provincial-born were mainly skilled single men aged between 20 and 25. They had come directly to the area in most cases after unemployment and in response to advertisements, although one man somewhat older than the rest had been in practically all the industrial districts of England.

The increase in population by migration in the four Metropolitan Counties was at least 700,000 persons between 1921-31, i.e. more than twice as great as London's total loss by migration. On a rough estimate that 300,000<sup>1</sup> of the Londoners emigrated into those counties, 400,000 persons born elsewhere must also have moved to them. The major part of the latter stream flowed into the industrial districts of Middlesex and Essex; Surrey and Kent received relatively many more Londoners into their more purely residential suburbs. The influence of migration into the extra-metropolitan area is illustrated by the 1931 birthplace figures for the more important urban areas.<sup>2</sup> In Hendon only 21 per cent. of the population were born in Middlesex; in Edmonton the proportion was as high as 55 per cent. In the Essex boroughs and other urban areas, the proportion born in the county ranged from 31 per cent. in Dagenham to 63 per cent. in West Ham; and in Surrey the range was from 29 per cent. in Mitcham to 43 per cent. in Croydon. The proportion born outside the county in which the area is situated depends on a number of

<sup>1</sup> See Notes on Statistics, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Urban areas with a population of 50,000 or more in 1931.

elements, of which the neighbourhood and accessibility of London is one of the most important. *Ceteris paribus*, the proportion of immigrants seems to vary directly with the youthfulness of the borough as a large urbanised area.

#### THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS POPULATION OF WELWYN GARDEN CITY

An interesting example of the influence of a somewhat more distant "satellite" is afforded by an analysis made in 1929, expressly for the purpose of the Survey, of the composition of the working-class population of Welwyn Garden City, situated in Hertfordshire about twenty miles from King's Cross.

Welwyn was established mainly to provide an outlet for the inhabitants of the more congested areas of London, and as an experiment in the planning of satellite towns.

For the material which forms the foundation of the following paragraphs the Survey is indebted to Mr. E. H. Rutland. The enquiry was made about three years after the factory development of the Garden City may be said to have begun, and the results therefore represent conditions prevailing at an early stage of its development, and during a period of rapid growth. Since that time there have doubtless been many changes, but it has been thought best to leave the account as it stands without attempting to bring the figures up to date. The population of Welwyn in 1929 was about 8,000. The present enquiry has been mainly limited to "working-class" families, in the sense in which the term is used in the Survey.

The information was primarily based on the forms filled up by each applicant for a dwelling at Welwyn, supplemented and checked by enquiries in other directions. The forms selected for examination were those relating to applicants for houses let at low rents by the Urban District Council and the Public Utility Society. In this way data more or less complete were obtained with regard to 800 households consisting of



2,942 persons or over one-third of the entire population of Welwyn. Of these, 1,173 were children under 16 years of age.

That the households examined were predominantly of "working-class" grade is shown by the rates of wages tabulated on p. 259. The table shows that the weekly wage of the head of the household averaged 63s. 1½d. and lay between 51s. and 70s. in half of all the 495 cases for which the information was obtainable. It is therefore to be clearly understood that the analysis relates to working-class households at or about the time when they settled at Welwyn.

The places of work of the heads of these 800 households were situated as follows:

Welwyn . . . . .	633
London . . . . .	131
Neighbouring Towns. . . . .	10
Unknown or Unoccupied . . . . .	26
	<hr/>
	800

The great preponderance of those working at Welwyn results from the limitation of the inquiry to working-class families, and from the policy of the authorities in giving preference to local workers in allotting house accommodation. Naturally few ordinary workmen could live 20 miles from their work except in very special circumstances (e.g. railway employees enjoying free travel).

In the case of middle-class residents the position is entirely different, for as is well known Welwyn is a "dormitory" for a large number of persons following commercial and professional occupations in London. At the date of the inquiry there were about 1,000 holders of season tickets between Welwyn and London. A rough estimate made in 1929 suggested that of the whole occupied population of Welwyn about half were working locally, and half in London.

The geographical sources from which the working-class households at Welwyn were drawn are shown in

the following tables which relate to all the families for which the necessary particulars could be obtained, classified according to occupations:

A. FORMER RESIDENCE OF 649 HOUSEHOLDERS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation	London	Local <sup>1</sup>			Rest of British Isles			Total
		Towns	Villages	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	
Clerks and Civil Servants .	63	5	3	8	4	1	5	76
Shop Assistants and Salesmen .	12	5	5	10	4	2	6	28
Public Services and Administration . . . . .	3	14	9	23	3	1	4	30
Building and Construction Metal, Engineering and Electrical Trades . . .	30	82	102	184	24	24	48	262
Transport Workers . . .	43	8	11	19	26	2	28	90
Agriculture and Gardening . . .	8	9	22	31	1	6	7	46
Personal and Domestic . . .	4	3	18	21	—	2	2	27
Others . . . . .	6	5	6	11	2	1	3	20
Totals . . . . .	27	11	18	29	7	7	14	70
Totals . . . . .	196	142	194	336	71	46	117	640
Percentages . . . . .	30	22	30	52	11	7	18	70

B. FORMER RESIDENCE OF 543 MANUAL WORKERS (HOUSEHOLDERS) CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SKILL.

Grade.									
Skilled and semi-skilled .	82	82	71	153	46	23	69	304	
Unskilled . . . . .	38	50	115	165	17	19	36	239	
Totals . . . . .	120	132	186	318	63	42	105	543	
Percentage Unskilled . . .	32	38	62	52	27	45	34	44	

<sup>1</sup> By "local" is meant within a radius of about 12 miles from Welwyn Garden City. "Town" means an urban district of more than 5,000 inhabitants.

The first table indicates that 63 per cent. of the families came from urban and 37 per cent. from rural areas. It also shows that less than a third of the working-class households came from London, and more than half originated in the local villages and towns. Moreover

the composition of the London and local contingents as regards occupation shows striking differences.

Of those engaged in building and constructional work (who numbered over 40 per cent. of the whole at the date of the inquiry), only about one in nine came from London, and more than two-thirds were recruited from local villages and small towns within a twelve-mile radius. On the other hand, more than three-quarters of the clerks hailed from London and many of these doubtless worked in London.

The second table shows the results of an effort to classify the origin of the manual workers according to skill. This was possible in the case of 543 householders, of whom 304 (or 56 per cent.) were skilled or semi-skilled, and 239 (or 44 per cent.) unskilled. It is significant that two-thirds of those who came from London were skilled or semi-skilled, whereas of those who came from local villages nearly two-thirds were unskilled.

At the time of the inquiry a considerable proportion of the workers, both constructional and factory, at Welwyn did not reside in the Garden City but came in each morning by train, omnibus or bicycle. Altogether between 650 and 700 workers of all categories were known to come in from outside, including nearly 400 building and constructional operatives and 146 office workers and shop assistants. In the case of factory workers it was mainly women and girls who came in from the outside, the reason being that most of them are not heads of families and cannot take up residence at Welwyn unless the whole family settles there, there being no suitable accommodation there for single women. An incidental result is that some factories which depend largely on female labour have found difficulty in establishing themselves at Welwyn. Some factories brought many of their skilled men workers with them: others recruited their skilled staff from the centres of their respective industries, or trained boys and young unskilled workers obtained locally. Unskilled men have been easily obtainable locally.

The reasons which have induced factories to settle at Welwyn are very various. The geographical position of the Garden City with its facilities for distribution to London and the north both by rail and road has clearly been one of the most powerful factors. Others have been the help given by the authorities to manufacturers in the provision of workshops and factories, and the quiet situation and clean air which have attracted factories desirous of experimenting with new processes.

Applicants for houses who were asked to give their reasons for wishing to move to Welwyn gave almost invariably as their principal reason that they were employed at Welwyn and wished to be near their work. (In this connection the preference given to local workers in allotting house accommodation must be taken into account.) Among the subsidiary reasons most often given were dissatisfaction with their existing house accommodation, or the receipt of notice to leave. A good many followed their friends and relatives. Such considerations as health or the attractions of country life and natural beauty were rarely mentioned as reasons for moving.

The position was different in the case of the comparatively few working-class residents who worked in London. Here the principal motives assigned for settling at Welwyn were desire for health, escape from overcrowding, the attractions of country life, and convenience of railway access to London.

The following figures based on the schedules indicates the proportion of earners per family at Welwyn in 1929.

NUMBER OF EARNERS IN 495 WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES LIVING IN WELWYN GARDEN CITY.

	No. of Families.
1 earner . . . . .	399
2 earners . . . . .	74
3 " . . . . .	16
4 " . . . . .	3
5 " . . . . .	3
Total	<u>495</u>

Over 80 per cent. of the working-class households had only one earner, and less than 5 per cent. had more than two. Probably at this stage of town development the opportunities for extra earnings by other members of the family were considerably less than in London.

It remains to indicate very briefly some of the conditions of life which Welwyn offers to its working-class immigrants so far as revealed by the statistics available. The rates of wages earned by the immigrant householders soon after their migration have already been referred to. The particulars for 495 households are as follows:

WEEKLY WAGES PAID TO 495 HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN WELWYN GARDEN CITY.

Range of Wages.	Number of Householders.
Up to and including 40s. . . . .	7
Over 40s. and up to 50s. . . . .	101
„ 50s. „ „ 60s. . . . .	155
„ 60s. „ „ 70s. . . . .	111
„ 70s. „ „ 80s. . . . .	72
„ 80s. „ „ 90s. . . . .	24
„ 90s. „ „ 100s. . . . .	19
„ 100s. . . . .	6
	<hr/>
	Total 495

Average wages=63s. 1½d. Median Wage=59s.

Half the cases lie between 51s. and 70s.

On the whole there is no doubt that wage rates at Welwyn are a good deal higher than in neighbouring towns of similar magnitude, and to some extent this is attributable to the conscious adoption of a high-wage policy on the part of some of the Welwyn employers. In 1929 the average rents of working-class dwellings inclusive of rates were 15s. a week for houses of the Urban District Council and 17s. 9d. for those of the Public Utility Society. There is a wide range of rents from 9s. 6d. up to 22s. 4d. a week, but there are not many houses at or near the maximum or minimum of the scale. The Council houses number from 10 to 12 per acre, and invariably consist of two storeys, the number of rooms varying from four to five.

## CONCLUSION

The material presented above may help the reader to visualise the constant moving to and fro of the London population. The average individual does not move frequently, but most people on their marriage, if not before, move at least once from the immediate neighbourhood of their parents. Often the married couple with or without children may move again to London, or more frequently move from inner London to the outer areas. Broadly, the migration into London is increasingly a long distance movement due to economic causes, while migration out of London consists largely of short-distance movements in search of a new *milieu*. These movements lead on the one hand to an admixture of different strains of population within London, and on the other hand to the increasing urbanisation of the outer areas within its orbit.

Compared with forty years ago the acquisition of country bone and sinew to compensate for the comparatively low-grade physique of the Londoner has lost some of its importance owing to the improvement in the health of the London-born population, while it has become less essential to industry as the progress of mechanisation has diminished the demand for physical strength as compared with manipulative dexterity. Differences in the level of employment rather than in rates of wages now provide the chief economic stimulus to migration, and the type of migrant whom London now attracts is not so much the low-paid agricultural labourer who expects to make his fortune, as the unemployed townsman of the "depressed areas" who hopes to find a job.

## CHAPTER X: TABLES

TABLE I

INFLUX AND EFFLUX OF POPULATION BETWEEN LONDON COUNTY AND  
VARIOUS GROUPS OF COUNTIES IN ENGLAND AND WALESAs shown at each Census, 1881-1911<sup>1</sup>

Group of Counties <sup>2</sup>	Number of Persons (000 s)				Percentages on the Total			
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1881	1891	1901	1911
<i>Immigrants</i> Enumerated in London and boroughs and the other parts of England and Wales.								
A	350	340	356	356	30	29	30	34
B	357	354	351	296	31	31	30	28
C	231	235	230	190	20	20	20	18
D	68	42	89	79	8	8	8	7
E	76	82	88	84	7	7	7	8
F	10	11	15	15	1	1	1	1
G	57	40	42	39	5	4	4	4
Total <sup>3</sup>	1 149	1 159	1 171	1 009	100	100	100	100
Percentage change on 1881								
	100	101	10	97				
<i>Emigrants</i> Born in London and enumerated in the other parts of England and Wales								
A	50	480	703	999	5	58	64	67
B	105	138	165	209	15	17	15	14
C	59	69	83	112	10	8	7	7
D	42	48	56	65	7	6	5	4
E	69	67	73	79	10	8	6	5
F	6	9	11	20	1	1	1	1
G	14	16	16	24	2	2	2	2
Total	585	827	1 115	1 508	100	100	100	100
Percentage change on 1881								
	100	141	191	258				

<sup>1</sup> No information on the direction and extent of migration in regard to London can be obtained from the Censuses of 1921 and 1931 as the information on birthplaces was considerably curtailed in those years

<sup>2</sup> Group A *Metropolitan Counties* Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey

Group B *Sealoard* Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Somerset, Suffolk, Sussex

Group C *Rural Midlands* Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire

Group D *Industrial Midlands* Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire

Group E *Industrial North* Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Yorkshire

Group F *South Wales* Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouthshire

Group G *Other* Remaining counties of England and Wales

<sup>3</sup> Excluding those born in England and Wales, but county not stated

TABLE II  
PERCENTAGES OF THE POPULATION OF EACH LONDON BOROUGH BORN IN  
LONDON IN 1881, 1911, 1921 AND 1931.

Borough.	1881	1911	1921	1931.
<i>East:</i>				
Bethnal Green . . . . .	83.5	84.8	87.1	87.5
Shoreditch . . . . .	76.3	86.8	88.7	88.6
Stepney . . . . .	70.5	68.8	74.3	76.6
Bermondsey . . . . .	72.6	84.7	87.6	88.7
Hackney <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	67.3	77.5	79.7	79.2
Poplar . . . . .	66.3	80.3	83.1	84.0
Stoke Newington <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	—	70.2	73.4	75.0
Deptford . . . . .	65.2	77.4	79.3	80.0
Greenwich . . . . .	63.6	69.7	70.9	72.1
Lewisham . . . . .	54.9	64.8	67.4	70.2
Woolwich . . . . .	55.6	62.1	62.0	62.5
<i>West:</i>				
City . . . . .	60.5	56.0	57.4	51.7
Finsbury . . . . .	72.8	81.1	83.4	82.5
Holborn . . . . .	61.8	57.3	53.0	50.9
Westminster . . . . .	52.4	47.2	45.3	41.9
Southwark . . . . .	69.8	80.4	83.2	83.7
Fulham . . . . .	68.9	66.1	68.5	66.4
Hammer-smith . . . . .	56.3	61.3	62.9	61.1
Islington . . . . .	63.2	74.1	76.3	75.9
St. Pancras . . . . .	60.6	68.1	68.5	66.7
Chelsea . . . . .	56.1	56.3	56.8	53.7
Hampstead . . . . .	50.8	51.0	49.1	47.5
Kensington . . . . .	43.8	52.3	53.6	50.0
Paddington . . . . .	47.2	55.1	56.5	50.5
St. Marylebone . . . . .	55.8	55.2	54.5	51.0
Battersea . . . . .	60.5	70.8	73.6	74.6
Camberwell . . . . .	66.5	77.6	79.6	81.2
Lambeth . . . . .	62.9	69.8	71.5	70.5
Wandsworth . . . . .	56.2	62.7	64.5	64.4
County of London . . . . .	63.0	69.0	70.7	70.2

<sup>1</sup> Stoke Newington included with Hackney in 1881.



TABLE III  
BIRTHPLACES OF POPULATION OF EACH LONDON BOROUGH, 1931.<sup>1</sup>

Borough	Percentage of the total Population born in					Total
	County of London	Rest of England and Wales	Ireland in British Isles	Dominions Colonies, etc.	Foreign Countries	
<i>East</i>						
Bethnal Green	87.5	6.9	0.5	0.2	4.9	100
Shoreditch	88.6	8.8	0.8	0.2	1.6	100
Stepney	76.6	8.6	1.1	0.4	13.3	100
Inner North	82.0	8.2	0.9	0.3	8.6	100
Bermondsey (Inner South)	88.7	9.3	1.1	0.2	0.7	100
Hackney	79.2	14.6	1.1	0.3	4.8	100
Poplar	84.0	13.2	1.3	0.4	1.1	100
Stoke Newington	75.0	17.0	2.0	0.7	5.3	100
Outer North	80.4	14.4	1.3	0.4	3.5	100
Deptford	80.0	17.4	1.6	0.4	0.6	100
Greenwich	72.1	23.8	2.4	0.9	0.8	100
Lewisham	70.2	26.1	2.1	0.8	0.8	100
Woolwich	62.5	32.2	3.2	1.5	0.6	100
Outer South	70.4	25.6	2.4	.9	0.7	100
<i>West</i>						
City	51.7	37.8	3.9	1.4	5.2	100
Finsbury	62.5	13.3	1.7	0.3	2.2	100
Holborn	50.9	31.4	5.9	2.5	9.0	100
Westminster	42.9	39.7	7.7	2.6	7.1	100
Inner North	55.7	30.9	5.6	1.9	5.9	100
Southwark (Inner South)	83.7	13.6	1.6	0.3	0.8	100
Fulham	66.4	28.2	2.9	1.0	1.5	100
Hammersmith	61.1	32.8	3.5	0.8	1.8	100
Islington	75.9	19.9	2.1	0.5	1.6	100
St. Pancras	66.7	24.8	3.7	1.1	3.7	100
Outer North I	69.4	24.8	2.9	0.8	2.1	100
Chelsea	53.7	35.6	6.1	2.0	2.6	100
Hampstead	47.5	37.9	5.6	2.6	6.4	100
Kensington	50.0	35.6	6.4	3.5	4.5	100
Paddington	50.5	37.8	5.4	2.7	3.6	100
St. Marylebone	51.0	34.9	6.4	2.4	5.3	100
Outer North II	50.3	30.4	6.0	2.8	4.5	100
Battersea	74.6	22.2	1.9	0.5	0.8	100
Camberwell	81.2	16.1	1.5	0.5	0.7	100
Lambeth	70.5	24.6	2.5	0.8	1.6	100
Wandsworth	64.4	30.2	3.0	1.0	1.4	100
Outer South	71.6	24.0	2.4	0.5	1.2	100
County of London	70.2	23.1	2.6	1.0	2.9	100

<sup>1</sup> A very small number of persons who omitted to state their birthplaces have been distributed proportionately

<sup>2</sup> A few persons born at sea have been included in this column.

TABLE IV

BOROUGH OF ENUMERATION AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN  
PERSONS ENUMERATED IN COUNTY OF LONDON, 1931.

Borough of Enumeration	Country of Birth							Total
	Belgium and Holland	France	Germany	Italy	Russia and Poland	Switzerland	United States	
<i>East</i>								
Bethnal Green	115	48	71	80	3,892	4	11	5,317
Shoreditch	58	38	103	166	875	11	2	1,551
Stepney	552	241	477	179	23,102	11	17	30,092
Inner North	725	327	651	45	7,877	37	21	10,950
Bermundsey (Inner South)	107	26	107	69	176	5	2	801
Hackney	294	141	491	164	7,161	61	115	10,253
Poplar	117	64	104	90	771	9	51	1,664
Stoke Newington	168	97	211	22	1,515	67	55	2,704
Outer North	579	342	804	312	9,174	111	213	11,351
Dapford	46	65	75	77	117	25	5	365
Greenwich	111	72	160	64	71	25	75	437
Lewisham	150	136	378	63	186	117	113	1,047
Woolwich	46	77	166	27	146	16	81	399
Outer South	363	450	779	231	451	156	371	1,661
<i>West</i>								
City	111	25	59	65	141	12	21	334
Islington	39	70	106	936	186	34	34	1,300
Holborn	207	344	270	1,042	448	243	235	3,555
Westminster	508	1,268	753	1,518	1,281	581	1,468	9,464
Inner North	865	1,733	1,186	3,561	2,056	870	1,615	14,830
Southwark (Inner South)	110	124	153	341	291	51	86	1,352
Fulham	230	397	222	192	314	126	170	2,192
Hammersmith	219	359	235	161	481	131	120	2,420
Islington	355	441	728	76	1,314	271	212	5,022
St Pancras	493	938	699	1,389	1,410	515	515	7,247
Outer North I	1,297	2,113	1,884	2,468	3,658	1,116	863	16,881
Chelsea	84	278	131	131	115	116	269	1,545
Hampstead	338	527	813	219	1,174	174	469	5,668
Kensington	422	1,089	710	375	1,500	411	815	8,190
Paddington	331	810	567	396	744	510	516	5,217
St Marylebone	290	678	434	480	1,159	308	604	5,171
Outer North II	1,465	3,382	2,675	1,603	4,912	1,571	2,666	25,791
Battersea	111	165	165	174	179	54	90	1,208
Camberwell	158	178	298	195	241	85	164	1,714
Lambeth	345	791	515	1,015	594	383	265	4,730
Wandsworth	494	872	562	309	533	321	452	4,750
Outer South	1,708	2,006	1,540	1,693	1,547	843	971	12,402
County of London	6,619	10,525	9,781	10,703	50,478	4,846	7,289	147,690

TABLE V  
BOROUGH OF BIRTH OF "LONDON"-BORN ADULTS (WORKING-CLASS).  
(Based on House Sample.)

[illegible]

## NOTES ON STATISTICS

1. *Table of Birthplaces.*

The Census figures of population for 1881 and 1891 have been corrected for changes of area (Local Government Act, 1899, etc.) in order to be comparable with those of subsequent years. In 1911, 1921 and 1931 a relatively small number of persons who omitted to state their birthplaces have been distributed proportionately before working the percentages although they have not been included in the birthplace figures given in the table.

2. *House Sample.*

For full details as to the method by which the House Sample was obtained as well as for definition of terms, reference must be made to Volume III of the New Survey, Part I, Chapter I, and to the Appendices to that section, particularly I, III and IV. Some slight alterations and differences from the general method pursued may be mentioned here.

In the first place the material has only been studied for adult heads of households. Adult unmarried persons residing with their parents or relatives have been excluded. Secondly, the "weights" used in combining the results for each of the boroughs differ slightly from those used in the general House Sample Inquiry, since a certain number of cards which gave information suitable for general purposes did not include the birthplace particulars and therefore had to be discarded.

London in all the tables based on the House Sample consists of the County of London with the addition of East Ham and West Ham, the two external boroughs in the Survey Area included in the group of Eastern boroughs studied for the purposes of this chapter.

In the House Sample tables the "British Isles" does not include the Irish Free State. Relatively few persons in the chosen area were born in southern Ireland and the omission is not important.

The term "Urban" is taken to include any borough or urban district which, in 1911, had a population exceeding 10,000 persons.

The unskilled are defined as those earning under 50s. a week or who were performing unskilled or casual work which any man could undertake. The skilled are defined as those earning over 80s. a week or who were craftsmen who had acquired a definite training or who were performing a responsible task, such as that of a foreman. Doubtful cases were omitted from this classification.

The age at which British migrants to London made their first recorded movement from their native place to London or to some other place and thence to London, was determinable conclusively in 60 per cent. of the cases, whilst in a further 30 per cent. the possible error was not more than 3 or 4 months. In very few cases was the possible error greater than one year.

### 3. *Emigration of Londoners to Metropolitan Counties.*

It will be seen from Table I that the proportion of emigrants from London going to the Metropolitan Counties increased during the period 1881-91. During the last decade 70 to 75 per cent. of the emigrants went to those counties. It appears from the available evidence (see pp. 247-8) that the increasing pre-war tendency to move just outside London has been considerably strengthened during the post-war period; and the proportion of emigrants moving to the Metropolitan Counties must now lie between 80 and 90 per cent. of the total number. Applying the mean of this range (85 per cent.) to the total number of London emigrants (350,000) we obtain a round figure of 300,000 persons who had moved to the Metropolitan Counties during the ten years 1921-30. On the basis of these estimates it is computed that about three-quarters of the total emigrants probably now reside in the Metropolitan Counties.

### 4. *Correction.*

In Volume I, p. 82 (Table VII), figures were given for the foreign-born population of London for each Census year 1881-1921. It should have been pointed out that the figures quoted for 1881, 1891 and 1901 relate only to foreigners, excluding foreign-born British subjects, and are not therefore strictly comparable with those given for later years. The Census returns for those earlier years enable only foreigners to be classified by country of birth.

The number of foreign-born persons living in London at each Census year was as follows:

							000's.
1881	.	.	.	.	.	.	79
1891	.	.	.	.	.	.	106
1901	.	.	.	.	.	.	161
1911	.	.	.	.	.	.	175
1921	.	.	.	.	.	.	147
1931	.	.	.	.	.	.	128

## CHAPTER XI

### JEWISH LIFE AND LABOUR IN EAST LONDON

AT the time when the inquiries initiated by Charles Booth were in the earlier stages, the persecutions of Jews in Russia in 1882 and 1883 which drove many Jews from that country, followed by the edict of Prince Bismarck in 1884, led to a considerable influx of foreign immigrants into the Whitechapel area and changed the character of whole districts.<sup>1</sup> There had been for nearly two centuries a settled Jewish population in the regions both of Aldgate and of Stepney, and it was natural that the distressed immigrants should seek a refuge among their co-religionists.

While some of the new-comers were persons who had enjoyed a competence in their country of origin, many had lived under conditions of great poverty and their standard of living was undoubtedly below that of the average British working man. The congestion of a number of persons speaking a different language and with different ways of living in a district having already many old and worn-out houses, roused concern in many quarters and brought considerable anxiety to the Jewish authorities. The concentration of the immigrants in one area led to some exaggeration in regard to their numbers. Endeavours to secure a trustworthy estimate were made by the late Dr. Adler and others and led to the view put forward in *Life and Labour* by Sir Hubert, then Mr. Llewellyn Smith, that the Jewish population

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Labour, East London*, "Influx of Population," by H. Llewellyn Smith, p. 546.

as a whole numbered between 60,000 and 70,000; that at least nine-tenths of them were living in East London; and that about half of them were foreign born.<sup>1</sup>

The six years 1881-2 to 1888 had seen the main stream of immigration, particularly in the earlier years, 1882-3. There had been a recrudescence in 1886; but by 1888, immigration had not only ceased, but the balance had turned and the outflow now exceeded the inflow. Emigration had been carried on for many years by the Jewish Board of Guardians and by the Russo-Jewish Committee, a committee set up to help those Jews fleeing from persecution, and as many as 5,500 cases representing about 12,000 individuals had been sent away between 1881 and 1886.<sup>2</sup>

There was again a turn of the tide in 1891, when the oppressive administration of the "May" Laws drove large numbers of Jews from the cities and villages of Russia into the congested area of the Pale of Settlement. Deprived of their livelihood and on the verge of starvation, many sought a refuge in England and America. The figures obtained by the Board of Trade show that some 7,000 remained in this country in 1891, about 3,000 in 1892, and in 1893 a number below the last figure.<sup>3</sup>

The terrible "pogroms" of 1906 at Kischeneff, Balta and other places<sup>4</sup> led once more to some increase in immigration, reinforced by the troubles in Roumania, but it is clear from the Census returns of 1911, that the congestion in East London had already begun to diminish. The peak year of population in that area was in 1901, when the number of inhabitants (Jewish and non-Jewish) in Stepney reached the figure of 299,000. There was a decline to 280,000 in 1911, a further fall to 250,000 in 1921, and a yet further decline to 225,000 in 1931, making a reduction in population

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 548-50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 550-1.

<sup>3</sup> Report on Volume and Effects of Recent Immigration, 1894, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> See *Jewish Chronicle* for June and July, 1906.

of over 73,000 in 30 years. These figures reflect to some extent conditions brought about by the stoppage of alien immigration owing to the War and the subsequent enforcement of stringent Alien Immigration Acts. The increase in the Jewish population since that time has been a natural increase, for the small inflow of Jews from the Levant and from Persia, most of them engaged in the carpet trade, has been negligible, and has scarcely touched East London. Indeed, most of them live in the west of the Metropolis, their synagogue having been established on the borders of North Kensington and Shepherd's Bush.

#### CONGESTION AND DISPERSION

The changes which have come about since 1889 may be noticed particularly in the figures of school attendance. Forty years ago the Jews' Free School was full to overflowing and its 3,500 places were never empty. To-day it has shrunk to a roll of 1,737, and seven of the elementary schools in the Jewish area have been put to other uses. In the last sixteen years the child population (Jewish and non-Jewish together) of the administrative area of the City and Stepney has gone down from 73,380 in 1915 to 45,366 in 1931,<sup>1</sup> a percentage decrease of 38 compared with 24 for the whole County of London. A similar decline of close upon 20,000 (or 25 per cent.) has occurred in Hackney—a fall from 81,260 in 1915 to 61,311 in 1931. As these are the boroughs with the greatest number of Jewish inhabitants, it is a fair inference that the Jewish as well as the general population is migrating farther afield.

These figures seem to show conclusively that the concentration of the Jewish population in one or two districts is declining. Forty years ago the problem of alien immigration was "less the total number of these persons present in the whole country than the density of their aggregation within certain limited areas."<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the London County Council, Nov. 3, 1931, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Statistical Report on Recent Immigration, 1894, p. 20.



congestion of new-comers in East London caused much anxiety to the leaders of the Jewish community and strenuous efforts were made to draw away as many persons as possible from overcrowded conditions. Large numbers were helped to emigrate to the United States and the Dominions. Homes were found for a certain number in some of the provincial towns and in the Metropolis itself, the policy of the Four Per Cent Dwellings Company, which, after 1892, erected their new dwellings outside Whitechapel, placed 3,270 out of their 5,716 tenants in the less-confined districts of Stepney Green, Camberwell, Dalston, Stoke Newington, and a few in Bethnal Green.<sup>1</sup> One wealthy member of the Jewish community gave a large donation in 1900 to the London County Council towards the development of the White Hart Housing Estate at Edmonton, on condition that a certain section of the houses should be offered in the first instance to Whitechapel residents of three years' standing.<sup>2</sup> The migration to other districts which started at the beginning of the century has gone on steadily ever since. In the forty years 1889-1929 the number of Jews in the County of London has increased from 60,000, or 70,000 to 183,000.<sup>3</sup> East London, however, now only accounts for some 60 per cent. of the Jewish population of the Metropolis instead of 90 per cent. as in 1889. Further, the distribution of Jewish families in East London has changed. The recent inquiry by House Sample made for the purposes of the Survey, shows that 52 per cent. of the East London families live in Stepney, 24 per cent. in Hackney, 11 per cent. in Bethnal Green, and the remaining 13 per cent. in Stoke Newington, Shoreditch and Poplar. Migration however has not been limited to these

<sup>1</sup> The company has begun work again and is about to build flats on a site in Hackney.

<sup>2</sup> L.C.C. Housing of the Working Classes, 1855-1912, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> The Jewish population of the Survey Area and Greater London may be estimated at 197,000 and 210,000 respectively. See Estimate of the Jewish Population of London by H. L. Trachtenberg, B.A. (*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. XCVI, Part 1, 1933).

districts. It has penetrated into almost every London borough, as is clearly shown by Table VI on p. 296, which gives the local distribution of synagogue membership.

Forty years ago the local concentration of immigrants in East London led to grave congestion and overcrowding. In 1891, persons (Jewish and non-Jewish) living two or more to a room formed 48 per cent. of the total population of Stepney, compared with 33 per cent. for the whole County. But after the beginning of the present century circumstances began to improve. By 1931 the figure had fallen to 37. Finsbury, Shoreditch, and Bethnal Green now show a higher incidence of overcrowding than Stepney.

Since the War, the Stepney Borough Council and also the London County Council have sought to mitigate the worst evils of congestion. Slum clearances have been made by these authorities, and some rebuilding by private owners has also taken place. There are still, however, large numbers of persons living in basement rooms, in narrow courts and alleys and in houses which are old, worn out, and insanitary, although the Holland Estate built by the London County Council under the Bell Lane Improvement Scheme, has swept away a number of old tenement houses and ancient courts. A much more drastic clearance is needed, however, in the St. George's area, which possesses the most overcrowded ward in London and where there still exist a number of houses without water and sanitation. The proposed Ellen Street Scheme, which is to be undertaken by the London County Council, will only touch a fringe of the problem, as only 300 persons are to be re-housed.<sup>1</sup>

Dissatisfaction with crowded and comfortless homes, and, to some extent, the shifting of industry have led large numbers of Jewish workers to seek for better housing accommodation in cleaner and healthier surroundings. The greater part of this migration has been

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the London County Council, March 22, 1932.

carried out on their own initiative, for unless the foreign father has been naturalised, he has no opportunity of securing a flat or a cottage on one of the London County Council's housing estates, as preference is given to British subjects. Persons displaced by slum clearances however are re-housed irrespective of their nationality.<sup>1</sup>

The younger generation of East London Jews are naturally most anxious to seek better houses outside overcrowded districts. The majority of them have received their education in English schools, and a considerable proportion have been born in this country. Forty years ago only a sixth of the children in the Jews' Free School possessed English-born parents.<sup>2</sup> To-day, this proportion has more than doubled.<sup>3</sup> Further, while in 1891 it was estimated that about half the Jewish population in East London had been born abroad,<sup>4</sup> the recent House Sample investigation indicates that less than 30 per cent. of the East London Jewish working-class community have been born outside the United Kingdom. Table II, p. 293, shows that the foreign-born are found only in the older age groups, reaching a maximum of over two-thirds in those over 65 years of age; that in the groups 0-14, none were born abroad and only a negligible number in the age group 14-20. It will be seen therefore that, immigration having ceased entirely in recent years, the Jewish population of East London will, within a short period, be almost without exception English-born.

Although the desire to remove from East London is increasing, and is likely to increase as the children and grandchildren of the immigrants attain manhood and womanhood, the factors which serve to keep the older people attached to East London still exist as they did forty years ago. There is still a keen desire to observe

<sup>1</sup> From information kindly furnished by the Valuer of the London County Council, Jan. 4, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Labour*, Vol. I, "Jewish Community," p. 577.

<sup>3</sup> From figures kindly furnished by Dr. Bernstein, Head Master of the Jews' Free School.

<sup>4</sup> *Life and Labour*, Vol. I, "Jewish Community," p. 577.

the Sabbath, and the majority of Jewish workshops are to be found in East London. Observance of the dietary laws tends to induce both the adult and often the younger wage-earners to return home for the midday meal. The older men like to worship in one of the smaller Federation Synagogues where they are among friends and neighbours.

But even the older people are finding that there is no real need to remain in East London. The opportunities for religious observance and for the religious training of their children can be and are transplanted to the new centres of Jewish life. True to the command in Deuteronomy vi. 6 and 7, "and these words which I command thee this day shall be in thine heart and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children . . ." the religion class is always the first institution to be set up, taking precedence of any formal synagogue building. Later, as the number of families increases, the Jewish purveyor of meat prepared according to Jewish tradition, generally follows, and these facilities may lead to the concentration of a small Jewish group in the neighbourhood, a concentration which often tends to give an exaggerated impression of their numbers. It is well to remember that in 1929 Jews formed only 2.7 per cent. or one in 38 of the whole population in Greater London. The figures in 1891 were 1.3 per cent. or one in 77.

The tendency to migrate from East London is no new phase. It began in the late eighties of the last century when synagogues in North London and North-East London were established, and also a place of worship in South London. Synagogues in the North-Western area, such as Hampstead, did not at first attract newcomers from Stepney. Their congregations were largely composed of the longer-settled members of the community from districts such as Bayswater. But from 1895 onwards the dispersions which brought Jewish places of worship to Hackney, Stoke Newington, Stamford Hill, Tottenham and later still to Notting Hill, East Ham, and West Ham, were due mainly to migra-

tions from East London. Since 1914, the dispersion has become yet more widespread, and new synagogues have been set up outside the Administrative County. The dispersion has reached Finchley and Hornsey on the north, Ealing and Richmond in the west, Croydon, Surbiton and Kingston in the south, and has gone far beyond the eastern boundary to the London County Council estate at Becontree.

#### RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES

One of the main problems which confronted the Jewish community at the time of the earlier immigrations was the need of teaching the new-comers English speech and English ways, while ensuring at the same time that they received adequate religious instruction. As the new Jewish population soon outgrew the accommodation of the communal denominational schools and began to attend Board Schools, arrangements were made for religious teaching to be carried on in the same buildings out of school hours. Regulations were framed by the School Board and adopted later by the London County Council, by which schools having 50 per cent. or more of Jewish children do not open on Jewish festivals, and close earlier on Fridays during the winter months after a shortened midday interval. There are nineteen of such schools in Stepney, three in Bethnal Green, one in Westminster, and one in Hackney. Nine other schools also close earlier during the winter session, in order to avoid the disturbance by the withdrawal of a number of children at the advent of the Jewish Sabbath. Four of these schools are in Hackney, two in Bethnal Green, and one each in Stoke Newington, Soho, and Marylebone.<sup>1</sup>

The eight Jewish "non-provided" schools provide for the religious education of some 3,800 children. They give such instruction daily during the week, and, in some cases, organise classes on Sunday mornings.

<sup>1</sup> From information kindly supplied by the Assistant Education Officer (Elementary) of the London County Council.

About the same number of children attend classes after school hours, the schools being hired under the direction of the Jewish Religious Education Board, twice or thrice weekly. About 4,000 children attend classes attached to the synagogues, mainly in the districts outside the inner zone of Stepney.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this provision, over 3,300 children are pupils of the Talmud Torahs or schools for teaching the Law, at which a more intensive study of Hebrew is pursued. Although this total roll is just under 15,000, a number which would appear to leave outside religious teaching a considerable proportion of boys and girls, it has to be remembered that there are a number of small private classes and private teachers in East London and elsewhere and that a good many parents prefer to send their children to the small class or Cheder and to the old-fashioned teacher who still imparts Hebrew translation through the medium of Yiddish.<sup>2</sup> But recent years have brought about many changes. There is closer contact between all types of classes. At the Talmud Torahs at which originally Yiddish was always spoken, English or Hebrew is used as the medium for teaching. Girls too are admitted to these classes, following in this way the example of the Jewish Religious Education Board and the Synagogues, both of which have given great attention to the religious education of girls. Owing to the initiative of the Chief Rabbi, an increasing development of Consecration Services for girls, based on careful preparation (to some extent analogous to the Confirmation services among Christian denominations), has taken place within the last decade. As in all denominations, there are a certain number of parents in the Jewish community who are apathetic in regard to the religious education of their children, but it is doubtful whether anglicisation influences

<sup>1</sup> Central Committee for Jewish Education, Tenth Annual Report, 1931-2.

<sup>2</sup> A German dialect spoken by Jews in Eastern Europe in which there is an admixture of Hebrew and of words in the current language of the country in which they live.

their attitude. The long-settled<sup>1</sup> families are generally anxious that their children should receive religious instruction, though it may not be entirely on traditional lines. The constant claims which are made upon the Central Committee for Jewish Education for help in establishing classes in the outlying suburbs, seem to prove that the more "anglicised" parent is desirous that his children should maintain contact with their faith. During 1930-1, centres for religious instruction were organised at Harlesden, Neasden, Harrow, and Edgware in the North-West, and at Edmonton in the North-East. The activities of the Central Committee, in providing for the training of teachers, in organising a lending library and providing books, are helping to prevent disintegration which might well accompany dispersion.

In East London, however, the forces which induce cohesion are still very strong. The Yeshiba Etz Chaim (Tree of Life College), trains Rabbis and teachers on rigidly traditional lines. Some 56 out of the 139 synagogues of Greater London are to be found in the areas of the City and Stepney, and their membership constitutes over 40 per cent. of the total synagogue membership of the metropolitan and extra-metropolitan districts. The Chevras, small brotherhoods, which, forty years ago, grouped the immigrants together and combined "the functions of a benefit club for death, sickness and the solemn rites of mourning, with that of public worship and the study of the Talmud,"<sup>2</sup> still exist in large numbers. They have been consolidated into the Federation of Synagogues, possess their own Burial Society and Cemetery, are represented on most of the communal organisations, and give generously to communal charities. The small inconvenient buildings of a generation ago have been enlarged or remodelled

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of religious instruction, Miss Gray in her book *Gladly woldes he Lerne and Gladly Teche* mentions that the Jewish girls attending St. Paul's School "were as a rule admirably taught at home" (p. 165).

<sup>2</sup> "The Jewish Community," by Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb), *Life and Labour*, Vol. I, p. 567.

in many instances, or have expanded into a few large synagogues as in Spitalfields, Whitechapel and Bethnal Green, synagogues which accommodate hundreds of worshippers. Their services, however, appeal to the older rather than to the younger generation of East London Jewry. The United Synagogue into which are amalgamated all the older London places of worship, as well as the majority of the newer synagogues outside Stepney and Bethnal Green, endeavours to meet the needs of adolescents and children by special services, and provides also accommodation on the High Festivals for persons who are unattached to any place of worship, and for whom consequently no room would be found in the ordinary synagogues on these occasions.

The United Synagogue which was established under a scheme more than seventy years ago, besides being responsible for the upkeep of the constituent synagogues, contributes to the maintenance of the Chief Rabbinate and the Ecclesiastical Court or Beth Din. Here the Chief Rabbi presides, assisted by four Dayanim or judges, advises and administers on all matters affecting Jewish law and practice. The president of the Court and his assessors are the recognised ecclesiastical authorities of the communal organisation in Anglo-Jewry,<sup>1</sup> and with few exceptions, the orthodox congregations of this country and of the Dominions accept their decisions. It should be pointed out however that Jewish law is always administered in accordance with the law of the land.

The Beth Din is an important influence in the life of the East London Jewry. Daily sittings are held, and during 1930 8,000 persons sought and received advice on all sorts of questions, some of them of a very delicate nature. Indeed, the Beth Din may be said to act frequently as a court of "domestic relations," or as a Poor Man's Lawyer. It adjudicates often in breach-of-promise cases, on questions of deceased's estates, partnership difficulties, differences between master and

<sup>1</sup> *The London Beth Din*, by Dayan A. Feldman, pp. 1 seq.



workman, or master and apprentice, questions of commission, compensation, slander and libel. The desire of the Ecclesiastical Authorities is to discourage quarrelsome litigation in the County Court or High Court. "English magistrates whose purpose is likewise 'to seek peace and secure it,' often advise Jewish litigants of this type to apply in the first instance to the Beth Din."<sup>1</sup>

It is a tribute to the wisdom of the Dayanim that in 1930, although 300 civil cases came before them, in only three instances did the parties proceed to the public courts, and that in each case the findings of the Ecclesiastical Court were upheld. In no case is there any record of a different decision by the Judicature.

Much of the work of the Beth Din is concerned with inquiries made by Government Departments or Local Authorities on matters affecting either Jewish communal or individual interests. Certificates of identity for establishing status or age are issued after due investigation and evidence. Such certificates may relate to Pensions Acts, to naturalisation, or to Friendly Society requirements. The Beth Din is also the High Court of Jewry for dealing with questions affecting divorce, the reception of proselytes, and regulations concerning the preparation according to Jewish ritual of meat and poultry and other provisions.

Although traditional Judaism is still accepted by the majority of East London Jews, many of them find it increasingly difficult, owing to economic conditions, to observe the Sabbath. Most of the shops in the Jewish quarters of Whitechapel and Stepney are still closed on Saturday, and a Sabbath-like peace pervades nearly all the streets, but many young people are compelled to seek their livelihood outside East London, as they have found it necessary to discard the occupations which attracted their forebears a generation ago. While the kindling of the Sabbath lights and the ceremony of Sanctification still draw together at home a great number of Jewish families on Friday evening, economic

<sup>1</sup> *The London Beth Din*, by Dayan A. Feldman, p. 9.

conditions and Saturday employment are keeping many away from service on Saturday morning. Friday evening and Saturday afternoon services are organised by the United Synagogue, and the service held late on Friday evenings at the Liberal Synagogue attached to the Bernhard Baron St. George's Jewish Settlement and at the Jewish Free Library seek to gather in those who otherwise might drift away from all spiritual influences. The forces of tradition however among the children of the immigrants are still very strong, and although the West London Synagogue, the first non-conforming synagogue established in 1841 and the Liberal Synagogues of the Jewish Religious Union have increased their membership in recent years, it will be generally agreed that their recruits have come mainly from the longer settled Anglo-Jewish families, whose education and outlook have been moulded for some generations in an English environment. But it would be a mistake to suppose that because they, as English Jews generally, are strongly imbued with English thought and feeling, a break-away from traditional Judaism by the 4,000 members of the Liberal Synagogues or by the 1,200 members of the West London Synagogue implies a step towards religious assimilation,<sup>1</sup> or that a movement such as the Society of Jews and Christians means anything more than a desire to promote a better mutual understanding between Jews and their fellow-citizens of other faiths.

The real danger which has to be fought by all sections of the community, in common with other denominations, is religious indifference. Observers think that this slackening of the hold of religious obligations has led to increased intermarriage, and the facts contained in Note D on p. 298 seem to give substance to this view. Those belonging to the right wing of thought fear too that such indifference is fostered by liberalising tendencies. They have been very active in recent years in

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Montefiore's article on "The Old Testament and the Modern Jew," in the *Hibbert Journal*, August, 1932.

work among young people and in consolidating their own position in a Union of Orthodox Jewish congregations to which seven synagogues are attached. Daily classes for children and daily study of the Talmud are organised and are held as essential means for deepening the Jewish consciousness. An orthodox Jewish centre under the same auspices has been opened in St. George's-in-the-East.

### ZIONISM

Another factor which has had great influence upon Jewish thought in East London and to a considerable extent upon the rest of the community, is the development of the Zionist ideal, more especially since the Balfour Declaration and the British acceptance of the mandate in 1917. Whether Palestine be regarded as a national or as a spiritual centre or both, the building up of the ancient land of their fathers has led East London Jewry and their children and grandchildren in other parts of the Metropolis to give generously towards the work of colonisation and land settlement. Among the younger generation Hebrew is studied in a number of Zionist societies, as the language of Palestine, and the Hebrew songs of the Palestine pioneers are sung and Hebrew plays are learnt. Hebrew scouts and girl guides (Habonim and Habonoth) have made some headway too among the children. Although some members of the community consider that too great an emphasis on Zionism may lead to a strengthening of race consciousness as opposed to religious consciousness, many people feel that these youth movements have proved to be a steadying influence in a time of spiritual and political unrest and are a useful element in social effort.

### THE HOME AND EDUCATION

It is doubtful, too, whether the reaction to Zionism has set up barriers against that anglicisation which leaders of the community desired to foster a generation ago: the countering forces are too strong. Education in all

types of schools, games on the playing-fields, social life in the evening institutes and dispersion to other districts of London and to a variety of occupations, all tend to closer relationships with the outside world. On the other hand, Jewish home life in East London, though undoubtedly less strongly cemented than in the past, is held together to-day by religious bonds and sentiments developed through centuries of persecution. The regard and reverence for the mother of the family, which has its foundation both in Biblical thought and Rabbinical teaching, still has its influence on the Jewish husband, who feels that it is his duty and not that of his wife, to support the family. And so it is rare to find a Jewish wife going out to work, though she may help her husband in his business. From the House Sample figures it is found that while in 5 per cent. of working-class families in East London both wife and husband are earners, the corresponding percentage for Jewish families is only 3. The parents too are devoted to their children—perhaps indeed are inclined to spoil them a little too much, so that as they grow older they become sometimes difficult to control. But their boys and girls are often better fed and better clothed than the children of their Gentile neighbours in the same circumstances. The mothers and fathers are keen too about education, and will make many sacrifices to keep a son or daughter at a secondary school or even at the university. Here again the House Sample is illuminating, for it shows that in East London the proportion of non-earners among Jewish boys and girls aged 14 to 16 is higher than among the general working-class population.<sup>1</sup>

A further example of the anxiety to take advantage of educational opportunities is seen in the number of lads in East London secondary schools who proceed to advanced courses. As the result of recent inquiries it was found that in one school where Jewish boys were 30 per cent. of the total roll, 66 per cent. of the lads taking higher courses were Jews. In another school,

<sup>1</sup> See Table IV, p. 294.

into which there had been a considerable influx of children or grandchildren of immigrants, 96 per cent. of the boys being Jewish, the proportion of pupils taking advanced courses had multiplied fivetold since 1923, having gone up from 2 per cent. in that year to 11 per cent. in 1929. No doubt this desire to give greater opportunities to their children is operating in the direction of a lower birth-rate. The average size of the Jewish working-class household in East London is 3·8 persons compared with 3·6 for the whole working-class population of the area but the House Sample table on page 294 (Table IV) shows that while the proportion of persons in the older age groups in Jewish families is higher than in the general population, the corresponding percentage of young children is lower.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONS

It is in the wide dispersion of the Jewish population of East London to trades outside the range and capacity of the immigrants of the 'eighties and 'nineties, that the new outlook engendered by English education is most clearly discerned.

The influx of immigrants in the decade following the Russian persecutions of 1882 led not only to a "local congestion of the foreign Jewish community in East London," but also to "its industrial congestion."<sup>2</sup> The immigrants flowed mainly into special trades. In 1881 nearly 48 per cent. of all "occupied" Russians and Poles in England and Wales were returned as engaged in tailoring, boot and shoe making or cabinet-making. By 1891, the percentage had increased to 55. Cabinet-making employed the smallest number. Mr. Aves, estimating from figures which had been given to him from various sources, thought that about 700 Jews were employed in the trade, many on medium work. The

<sup>1</sup> The difference of age distribution is no doubt partly due to the fact that 30 per cent. of the Jewish population in East London are immigrants (see above, p. 273).

<sup>2</sup> Reports on Volume and Effects of Recent Immigration (Memorandum by Labour Department of Board of Trade, 1894, p. 39).

position was very different as regards tailoring and boot making. It was in relation to these two industries that there was controversy concerning the extent of competition with and displacement of English labour and the prevalence of "sweating."<sup>1</sup>

To-day the position has entirely altered. There is no longer so great an "industrial congestion" in East London as existed forty years ago. An analysis of a large sample of entries into Friendly Societies in the years 1913, 1921 and 1930 illustrates how great are the changes that have taken place.<sup>2</sup>

Although tailoring still appears to absorb a larger number of men than other occupations, there has been a marked decline since 1913. In 1913 nearly half of the lads aged 14 to 20 went into tailoring. By 1930 young entrants to this employment were reduced to a quarter. The decline is even more defined in the case of women. In 1913 tailoring recruited three times as many women as the next most popular trade, cigarette making. To-day, instead of being first on the list to attract newcomers as in 1913, it is sixth in the rate of absorption, and in numbers falls far below the most favoured occupation of dressmaking. This is the more remarkable as tailoring, though subject to wide seasonal fluctuations, is now no longer, owing to the operation of the Trade Board, a sweated industry. The male members of a Jewish team earn in the season £1 a day, and the women from 6s. to 10s.<sup>3</sup> Some explanation for this decline in recruitment may be gathered from the Report of the Jewish Board of Guardians for 1930,<sup>4</sup> in which it is stated that "a decreasing number of Jews and Jewesses is now absorbed by the tailoring trade owing to what may be called its mechanisation, whereby each worker learns only a very small part of the trade. . . . Consequently, the Jewish master tailor in the East End

<sup>1</sup> Reports on Volume and Effects of Recent Immigration, pp. 90-1.

<sup>2</sup> Table V.

<sup>3</sup> *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, Vol. II, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> p. 15.

is gradually disappearing and, with no immigration to fill up the gaps, the number of Jews employed in this trade will become less and less." The depression in the industry which has become acute during the last two years also leads young men to look elsewhere for employment. Further, although factory work in the tailoring trade is tending to displace men by women, this type of work does not attract Jewish girls, who prefer the more friendly atmosphere of the small workshop where they are often employed by relatives or neighbours.

The boot and shoe industry and the cap-making trade both of which were once the refuge of the immigrant, now include but few Jewish workers. Here again mechanisation has displaced hand work and gives no room for initiative. Young male entrants to the boot trade who were 27 per 1,000 in 1913 had fallen to 3 per 1,000 in 1930 and there were no women entrants. Women had never been numerous in this trade, but the entrants in 1913 had been 19 per 1,000, the same figure as for shop assistants. To-day the ratio of women engaged as shop assistants has risen from 19 per 1,000 to 172.

Of the three main occupations of the immigrants in the last century, only one, cabinet-making, shows a definite increase in the number of young entrants. These figures receive confirmation from the returns of apprenticeship made by the Jewish Board of Guardians, which in 1930 showed that 60 out of the 145 boys indentured went to cabinet-making and the kindred trade upholstery, and that out of the total number of 469 apprentices bound under Articles at the end of 1930, 202 were engaged in these two trades.

Cigarette-making, which at the beginning of the century attracted large numbers of immigrant girls, taking second place after tailoring in the number of young entrants to Friendly Societies, in 1913, accounted for only 3 per 1,000 of entrants in 1930 compared with 136 in 1913.

The largest proportional increases appeared to be among furriers, engineers, hairdressers and barbers, and especially among the shop-assistant group, in which the new entrants have multiplied fivefold among the men and ninefold among the women since 1913. Girls entering clerical occupations are nearly three times as numerous as in 1913, while dressmaking attracts about three and a half times as many girls and women as before the War and is the most favoured of all occupations. Table V shows how varied is the work which engages the energies of East London's Jewish population. Perhaps the most interesting fact which emerges is the number of young men and women who enter clerical work and salesmanship.

Migration to trades and occupations other than those associated with East London becomes even more marked as dispersion increases. A large girls' club in Central London with a membership of 908 has only 87 tailoresses on the books. Employment as clerks and shorthand writers, dressmakers, milliners and shop assistants absorbs 578 of the members. But the economic depression in the City of London, where many of the clerical workers have been employed, is rendering recruitment to clerical occupations more and more difficult, and it seems likely that girls who have been unwilling hitherto to enter factories may have to turn from headwork to handwork in the future, particularly as the developments in the ready-to-wear gown trade which have occurred since the War have enabled competent young men and women to realise their ambition and become owners of small workshops. The dress trade is in great measure taking the place occupied by tailoring before 1913. While some of this work is done for West End firms, many of the goods, judging by the large number of clothing shops of all kinds in East London, must be purchased by residents living in or near the district. Indeed, the transformation that has occurred in many Whitechapel streets since the War, is evidence of the higher standard of living attained by



the inhabitants, compared with forty or even twenty years ago. The House Sample shows that no less than 20 per cent. of Jewish earners in East London are owners or managers of shops, workshops or factories.<sup>1</sup>

The street markets both in East London and elsewhere provide a livelihood for many Jewish hawkers, particularly for those who possess regular pitches. Although there has been little change since the last century in the specifically Jewish markets—such as Wentworth Street and Middlesex Street—much of the neighbourhood has been rebuilt and the shops remodelled. Yiddish is heard much less frequently than in the past, though the fish stalls still drive a busy trade on Thursdays and Fridays in preparation for the Sabbath, and pickled herrings and salted vegetables still find a ready market. To-day, as in the past, all is cleared away by Friday afternoon, and the shops are closed for the Sabbath.

#### POVERTY AND SOCIAL EFFORT

Industrial depression has been felt acutely in East London during the past two years, and unemployment and short time have forced down earnings below the poverty line.

The House Sample showed that 13·7 per cent. of working-class Jews in Charles Booth's East London were in poverty in the week of investigation, as compared with 12·1 per cent. of the whole working-class population. While the incidence of poverty in the Jewish community is thus somewhat higher than in the general working-class population, a greater percentage of this poverty appears to be attributable to unemployment or part-time or casual employment, viz. 64 as compared with 55 per cent. for all working-class people.

The three industries which have been most heavily hit are tailoring, furriery and cabinet-making. The last Report of the Jewish Board of Guardians speaks of the requests for assistance which "have come from

<sup>1</sup> Table V, p. 295.

the most surprising quarters, from men and women who themselves have been donors to charity in their time of prosperity."<sup>1</sup> Although in principle the Board refers the young able-bodied applicant to the Public Assistance Committee of the London County Council with whom close co-operation is maintained,<sup>2</sup> in actual practice cases are considered on their merits. For it may be pointed out that as many as 2,291 out of a total of 3,282 cases relieved in 1931 had an adult male at the head of the family. A high proportion of these cases were in difficulty as the result of the economic situation, new cases having risen from 836 in 1930 to 1,169 in 1931. In addition to tiding over temporary misfortune, the Board gives fixed allowances to widows and sick and infirm persons, grants loans to small traders, gives advances to help in the purchase of tools or to pay premiums for apprenticeship, and places delicate or abnormal children in employment. The Board also maintains under trusts three convalescent homes, three groups of almshouses, an open-air convalescent home and school for children, and a hostel for boys, and has taken responsibility for boarding out lads leaving the London County Council Homes at Stepney. In fact there is scarcely a department of Jewish need in which the Board is not ready to help with advice or financial assistance. Its central register of applicants for relief prevents overlapping with other organisations. The idea of mutual aid has always appealed to members of the Jewish community, and the practical appreciation of this principle is seen in the contributions made by seath-olders of the United Synagogue towards the aid of congregants who have fallen upon evil days. The same principle is evident in the growth of the Friendly Society Movement, which maintains three convalescent homes and includes some 33,000 voluntary members, of whom 19,000 belong to the two largest Orders.

The need for some system of parish organisation to

<sup>1</sup> Report, 1931, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Report, 1931, p. 15.

maintain contact with the large Jewish population in East London led the United Synagogue some years ago to establish Welfare Centres in Whitechapel, Spitalfields and Bethnal Green. The ministers or lay workers attached to the centres refer all applicants for monetary relief to the Jewish Board of Guardians, but they give hospital letters, help with advice and information in all sorts of difficulties, fill in forms for the unlearned, and endeavour to solve questions connected with old-age pensions, widows' pensions, and applications for naturalisation. They also act as school managers and members of care committees and are in touch with old boys' associations and the Jewish Lads' Brigade.

The greatly increased work in connection with the East London Synagogue in Stepney, due to migration towards Mile End, led to the appointment some years ago of a paid woman organiser, who trains workers for service on the school care committees and has set on foot a play-centre and junior clubs for the children of the locality.

The Jewish Institute established by the United Synagogue at Mulberry Street, Whitechapel, is also a centre for social activities. Here are provided a library and reading-room, concerts and lectures are organised, and house room is given to young people's clubs and to the Habonim and Habonoth. The Sabbath Observance Society, which places about 400 persons in work annually in occupations in which the Sabbath can be kept strictly, also has its offices in the building.

In St. George's-in-the-East, the district between Commercial Road and the river, the Bernhard Baron Settlement, which is maintained in great measure by the Liberal and West London Synagogues, carries on welfare activities of every kind and provides residential accommodation for social workers. In addition to an advisory bureau, the centre gives house room to two maternity and child welfare clinics, organises scout troops and children's play hours, and has established twelve clubs for persons of different age groups, with a total membership of 1,700.

The importance of watching over boys and girls leaving school was recognised as a paramount duty by the Jewish community in the earlier days of the immigration from Russia, and several boys' and girls' clubs had been set up in East London by the beginning of the century. At the flood tide of the influx, they supplemented the work of the evening schools in teaching English. Now they give opportunity for recreation and games, for singing, craft teaching, physical training and dramatic work.

The Jewish Lads' Brigade, which did much in the years before the War to bring the younger generation into touch with English ideas and customs, is still a valuable influence among the youth of East London. Besides organising a club at its headquarters at Camperdown House, Aldgate, it has taken over a large building close to the centre of the Jewish dispersion in Hackney and Stoke Newington at which are housed the Brigade, a club and other activities. There are also a number of companies of boy scouts and girl guides affiliated to the central British organisation. The Jewish Free Reading Room is also a centre for social and religious activities among boys and girls.

The physique of the earlier immigrants aroused a good deal of concern among those engaged in helping them and their children, while the moral dangers of the friendless led to the establishment of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women. The long record of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centres established by Jewish voluntary workers in East London, the London County Council's School Medical Service and the encouragement of games by such bodies as the Association of Jewish Youth, have all helped to build up a vigorous generation. The London Jewish Hospital has also become an important focus of remedial work. The Jewish Health Organisation also co-operates by watching over the eyesight of children who study at Hebrew classes out of school hours. It has set up an undenominational Child Guidance Clinic

for helping nervous and difficult children and also a dental clinic for adolescents. It should be noted that nearly 50 per cent. of those treated at the clinic are non-Jewish children and that an average of 25 per cent. of non-Jewish patients attend the London Jewish Hospital.

#### SUMMARY

Perhaps the most significant change which has occurred in East London in recent years is the growth in independence and self-help among the descendants of the immigrants. The young people themselves have established literary and social societies of various kinds. A Jewish adult education movement has been established for the study of Hebrew history and literature. The Friendly Societies' organisation has grown apace, since its beginnings more than a generation ago. In addition to Zionist work, East London people are active in fostering institutions which have arisen out of their own needs, such as the Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter (still a welcome refuge for transmigrants), the London Jewish Hospital, the Home and Hospital for Incurables and the Home of Rest. There is closer co-operation among all sections of thought in the community. They meet on the Board of Deputies, the oldest representative Anglo-Jewish institution founded more than 170 years ago, on the Visitation Committee, which is concerned with the visitation of inmates in all types of Institutions, and on other societies. The opening in 1932 of the Jewish Communal Centre at Woburn House, St. Pancras, in which are housed a number of important Jewish organisations, including Jews' College, the United Synagogue and the Union of Jewish Women, is likely to lead to more complete co-operation in the future. Moreover, migration from East London is bringing the longer settled families into closer touch with the children and grandchildren of the original immigrants. While it is true that until recently Yiddish plays still attracted large audiences in East London, and that six Yiddish newspapers circulate in the area,

the younger people rarely use that language among themselves. Their parents are more and more anxious to learn to speak and to read English well, and many fathers and mothers of families can be seen hard at work at the admirable classes for foreigners carried on by the London County Council at the Robert Montefiore School. Those who know the foreign parents best find that they are anxious not to be shut out from the newer interests and the newer life of their English children. It looks therefore as if the anglicisation which the leaders of the community set out to attain more than a generation ago is likely to become an accomplished fact long before the end of the present century.

Before closing this chapter, the writer desires to give her warm acknowledgments to the members of the staff of the New London Survey, to the officers of the London County Council, the secretaries of Jewish societies and to the many voluntary workers who have given ungrudging help in the supply of information. But especially she would express her grateful thanks to Mr. M. I. Michaels, who has collected and collated nearly the whole of the statistical material and without whose aid this chapter could not have been written. She wishes also to express her gratitude to Mr. H. L. Trachtenburg of the Jewish Health Organisation for placing at her disposal his valuable researches into the figures of Jewish population in the Administrative County and in Greater London.

## CHAPTER XI · TABLES

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH FAMILIES IN EAST LONDON <sup>1</sup>  
(House Sample, 1929-30)<sup>2</sup>

Boroughs in East London	Percentage of All Families			Percentage Distribution of Jewish Families in East London
	Jewish Families	Net Jewish Families	All Families	
Shoreditch	6	94	100	4
Bethnal Green	15	85	100	11
Stepney	43	57	100	52
Poplar	4	96	100	4
Hackney	16	84	100	24
Stoke Newington	16	84	100	5
East London	18	82	100	100

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Booth, East London.

TABLE II

BIRTHPLACES OF JEWISH PERSONS IN EAST LONDON <sup>1</sup>  
CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND AGE  
(House Sample, 1929-30)<sup>2</sup>

Place of Birth	Per 1,000 persons		M		Males		F -- Females		Total
	Age Group		14		17		45-65		
	0-15 under 14	16 and over	M	F	M	F	M	F	
London	1	4	55	13	115	1	4	4	70
Other parts of British Isles	1	1	13	38	1	13	1	1	17
Russia and Poland			1	154	4	4	1	1	217
Roumania			3				1		13
Germany					1	4	1	1	63
Austria and Hungary					1	1	1		3
Holland					1	4		1	5
France and Belgium				12	1	1			18
Outside Europe									2
Not Stated	53	1	1	5	5	4	4	1	30
Total	5	4	61	115	14	86	93	13	1,000

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Booth's East London.

<sup>2</sup> See Note A, p. 97 and Note J, p. 17.

## SPECIAL STUDIES

TABLE III

NUMBERS OF PERSONS IN JEWISH COMPARED WITH ALL WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES IN EAST LONDON <sup>1</sup>

(House Sample, 1929-30)

	Number of Persons in Family									Average Number of Persons in Family	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and over	All Families	Families with earners.
	Number of Families per 1 000										
Jewish	111	188	193	122	80	30	21	31		1.8	1.98
All	121	13	13	172	109	77	44	3	2.8	1.63	3.83

<sup>1</sup> Charles Booth's East London

TABLE IV

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF JEWISH COMPARED WITH ALL WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES IN EAST LONDON

(House Sample, 1929-30) <sup>1</sup>

Distinguishing earners ("E") and Non-earners ("Non E")

Sex and Age Groups	Number of Persons per 100 Families				Number of Persons per 1 000 Persons			
	Jews		All Persons		Jews		All Persons	
	E	Non E	E	Non E	E	Non E	E	Non E
<b>Males</b>								
65 and over	3	4	—	5	7½	10	5	13
20-65	102	2	25½	—	267	5	263	4
18-20	7	—	5	—	18½	—	15	—
16-18	7	1	6	—	18	2	16½	2
14-16	6	3	6	2	16	9	17	5
	125	10	114½	8	327	26	316½	23
<b>Females</b>								
65 and over	½	7	½	8	2	18	1	22
18-65	45	80½	41	74	118	211	113	205
16-18	8	½	6	1	20½	1	17	2
14-16	4½	3	5	2	12	8	13	6
	58	91	52½	86	152½	238	144	235
<b>Children</b>								
5-14	—	69	—	70	—	180½	—	194
3-5	—	12	—	14	—	31	—	39
0-3	—	17	—	18	—	45	—	49
	—	98	—	102	—	256½	—	282
<b>Total</b>	183	199	167	176	480	520	460	540
<b>Total Persons</b>	382		363		1 000		1,000	

<sup>1</sup> See Note A p 297.



TABLE V  
OCCUPATIONS OF JEWISH EARNERS (I) ALL AGES, (II) JUVENILES  
Proportion per 1,000

Occupations	All ages in East London (House sample)		London Entrants aged 14-20 into Jewish Friendly Societies					
	Males	Females	Males			Females		
			1913	1921	1930	1913	1921	1930
Owners and Managers of Manufacturing Con- cerns	86	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wholesale Concerns	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retail Shops	95	32	—	—	—	—	—	—
Professional Men and Women	38	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
Employees and Workers on own Account								
Boot and Shoe Makers	32	5	27	26	3	19	3	—
Cabinet Makers, Other Woodworkers	82	7	105	91	125	—	—	—
Chauffeurs, Carmen	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cigarette, Cigar Work- ers	8	35	20	1	1	136	83	3
Dockers and other La- bourers	10	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Domestic Workers	1	31	—	—	—	7	3	—
Clerks	37	61	65	74	92	46	88	119
Dressmakers, Etn broiderers	5	150	—	—	—	79	161	283
Furriers	30	78	55	77	102	88	59	57
Hairdressers	24	9	55	45	91	7	—	13
Hat and Cap Makers	12	25	44	15	3	48	49	4
Hawkers Stall keepers	47	16	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jewellers	—	—	24	42	7	—	—	—
Leather Workers	7	12	—	19	7	—	10	3
Metal Workers, Elec- tricians	16	—	7	19	30	—	—	—
Milliners	5	59	—	—	—	44	103	123
Musicians	7	3	—	7	4	—	—	—
Printers	6	1	20	7	12	—	—	4
Public Transport Salesmen, Shop Assist- ants	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tailors, Pressers	55	112	38	116	198	19	42	172
Travellers	229	236	466	344	228	398	220	91
Typists	18	2	—	1	3	—	—	1
Underwear and Corset Makers	—	58	—	—	—	48	125	121
Upholsterers	2	17	—	—	—	46	44	—
Waiters, Waitresses	12	2	7	16	30	2	—	1
Warehousemen, Pack- ers	6	6	—	—	1	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	28	6	20	22	15	5	7	4
	47	64	47	49	45	8	3	1
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

TABLE VI  
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SYNAGOGUES AND SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP IN GREATER LONDON AT 1930.  
EXISTING SYNAGOGUES CLASSIFIED BY DATE OF FOUNDATION

District	Number per Group	Ref. No.	Dates of Foundation of Synagogues					Total Number of Synagogues (1930)
			1840-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880	Not Stated	
Stepney and City	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	46
Bethnal Green	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Shoreditch	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Poplar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Hatfield	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23
Stoke Newington	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Total London	10	7	14	15	7	13	8	79
Islington	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
Westminster	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
St. Marylebone	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
Hampstead and Willesden	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
Greenwich	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
East Ham and West Ham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Levensham and Waltham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
King's Cross and Finsbury	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Horsey Terrace and Finsbury	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Southward and Finsbury	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Deptford and Finsbury	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Lambeth and Finsbury	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Richmond and Finsbury	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60
Total Outside London	1	1	8	7	12	13	4	19
Grand Total	11	8	22	22	19	26	12	98

1. Membership has been distributed on the basis of the addresses of the Synagogues. The address can be taken as only broadly true for each as since members may come from adjoining boroughs. To overcome this defect the areas have been grouped as far as possible.

2. St. Marylebone is the headquarters of the Liberal Synagogue whose members come from a very wide area in North and West London.

## CHAPTER XI: NOTES ON STATISTICS

## A. METHOD OF CHOOSING JEWISH CARDS IN HOUSE SAMPLE. (Tables I to V.)

The investigators were not asked to indicate the religion or race of the families and the selection of the Jewish families has been made in the Survey office. Names seemed to offer the most reliable indication of race and formed the basis of the selection. It may be urged that some names would often have been anglicised, while others would be indistinguishable from common English names. First, the names were in the majority of cases taken from either the School Attendance Officers' books or the Voting Register, where the element of change would be least. Secondly, the proportion legally changed would be at its minimum in the East End. In doubtful or borderline cases the name was taken in conjunction with the address (specifically Jewish areas were listed beforehand), the occupation and the birth-places of members of the older generation. The method tends to weight occupations regarded as particularly Jewish and perhaps to over-estimate the proportion born abroad. Precision of the results is thereby diminished to a slight extent. The tabulation was confined to boroughs in the Inner and Outer Eastern Districts of the Survey Area (Charles Booth's East London), because outside them the element of doubt in choosing the cards would have been considerably greater, while the number of cards yielded in most boroughs would have been very low. In the above mentioned area, cards for the middle class were filled in, and were utilised for the purposes of Tables I, II, and V. In grouping the boroughs together, the information relating to each was multiplied by its appropriate number so that the right proportion was obtained in the aggregate.

## B. ENTRANTS INTO JEWISH FRIENDLY SOCIETIES. (Table V.)

An examination was made of a sample of Jewish Friendly Societies covering about 70 per cent. of their total London membership in each of the three years 1913, 1921, and 1930. No data were available for years earlier than 1913, the first complete year of the compulsory health insurance scheme. The societies taken were regarded, by persons in a position to judge, as representative. Under the Health Insurance Scheme the applicants for entry to all Societies must be earning £250 or less per annum, but if working for a parent they need not join. The applicants tend to be confined to East London and to those persons in touch with the activities of the Jewish community. It is conceivable that persons entering the more unusual occupations may be under-estimated. Further, the table only shows the first occupation of the applicant on entering industry, and throws no light on subsequent changes of occupation, if any.

**C. MEMBERSHIP OF SYNAGOGUES. (Table VI.)**

Practically all Jewish heads of families belong to a synagogue in order to obtain the right of burial in a Jewish cemetery, so that the figures may be taken as reasonably complete. Each group of synagogues, however, reckoned its membership in a slightly different way, and computations had to be made to place them on a comparable basis.

**D. JEWISH MARRIAGE RATE AND INTERMARRIAGE.**

The Registrar-General publishes quinquennially a classification of marriages by the mode of celebration. Fortunately, the last year of publication, 1929, coincided with the year for which we possess an estimate of the population. There is no reason to think that the marriages in that year were abnormal in any way. The total number of Jewish marriages in London and the Five Home Counties was 1,581, of which 1,508 were in London, 46 in Middlesex, and 23 in Essex. Making a small deduction for Southend it seems reasonable to take the figure of 1,570 for Greater London, which yields a marriage rate of 15.0 persons per 1,000 of population.

The County of London, with a slight relative deficiency in the marriageable age groups compared with the Jewish population, had a marriage rate in the same year of 19.1. In mixed marriages, if the non-Jewish party is converted to the Jewish religion the marriage would appear in the list of Jewish marriages. Clearly there is a large margin which may be due to marriages taking place before a civil registrar or with another religious ceremony. For social and other reasons it is unlikely that many marriages between Jews take place without a religious ceremony. Thus we have to account for a gap of almost one-sixth of the probable marriage-rate which at least in part is most likely due to intermarriage.

## CHAPTER XII

### HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY AND COOKERY IN RELATION TO POVERTY

It is the aim of this chapter to explore the relationship between good and bad housekeeping and the prevailing conditions of working-class comfort and poverty; and for this purpose to describe how the London working-class housewife caters and cooks, what she buys and where, what difficulties she has to contend with, and how far these difficulties are capable of being overcome.

The essence of "poverty" is deprivation of the means of satisfying primary needs. This deprivation cannot be measured by paucity of income alone, whether that income be expressed in terms of money or of the power of purchasing the necessities of life. It is true that for the purpose of broad statistical comparisons, especially over periods of time, the test of "real" income is the best general criterion available, and this criterion, subject to various qualifications, is substantially that which has been used for the purpose of the Street Survey and the House Sample inquiry. It has however never been absent from the minds of those who have conducted these inquiries, that though real income is the source from which family needs must be supplied, neither its total amount nor the amount paid over to the housewife affords an accurate measure of the sum of satisfaction which can be obtained therefrom in any particular case.

In the Introduction to the first volume of the Survey the warning was sounded that "different households will obtain different amounts of satisfaction from identical

incomes, for there is an art of expenditure and household economy, no less than of acquisition."<sup>1</sup>

There must therefore be some relationship between good and bad housekeeping and well-being or poverty. To throw light on the nature of this relationship is the object of the present inquiry.

There is a school of thought which regards ignorant and wasteful methods of marketing and cooking on the part of the housewife, and irrational prejudices and fastidiousness on the part of the family for which she caters, as important factors in the generation of poverty. An opposing school of thought tends rather to regard defects in working-class household management as the direct product of bad housing and poverty, as reflected in such disabilities as insufficient and unsuitable accommodation and storage space, defective cooking arrangements, poor implements and materials, and above all in want of time on the part of the over-taxed housewife to make the best choice and use of the materials at her command.

There is an element of truth in each of these contentions, but neither of them contains the whole truth, and it will be found on investigation that the relation between poverty and household management is not a simple relation of cause and effect, but rather a complex of mutual reactions which make the problem fascinating to study but very difficult to solve.

#### METHOD OF INQUIRY

The main sources of the information were (1) direct inquiry from housewives and girls, partly by means of "questionnaires," partly by visits to their homes, partly by meetings and discussions, (2) supplementary inquiries from social workers, nurses, health visitors, house property managers, borough officials and others, familiar with various aspects of working-class life, from organisations such as infant welfare centres or charitable societies which are in contact with working-class conditions, and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, p. 14.

from teachers of cookery to working-class women and girls. Information thus obtained has been supplemented by a study of the official and non-official literature of this and other countries on the subject. On the whole, the method of direct inquiry has proved more effective than the indirect, and though the latter has been by no means barren of results it has been chiefly useful as a supplementary check. The fact is that hitherto systematic and impartial observation of the essential facts with regard to working-class housekeeping has only been carried out in London to a very meagre extent, while such data as are to be obtained in this way are frequently coloured by preconceived ideas or personal tastes and prejudices on the part of the observers.

While therefore the opinions and experience of social workers and organisations, as well as the available literature, have been carefully collected and analysed, the main stress has been laid on the first-hand information, supplied orally or in writing by working women and girls with whom contacts have been established in diverse ways.

The questionnaires were framed and given to groups of women and girls in different parts of London, a great variety of districts and of grades and types of families being represented. About 200 replies were received, viz. 125 from housewives and 75 from girls of various ages. The housewives who responded lived in Bethnal Green, Canning Town, Lambeth, Islington, North Kensington, Paddington, St. Pancras, Southwark, Walworth, Wandsworth and the West End.

Their husbands came from all ranks of workers, and numbered amongst them dockers, waiters, clerks, a commercial traveller and a journalist, factory workers, building trade workers, motor drivers, railway porters, and electricians.

Some of the women had been domestic servants, others shop assistants, milliners, dressmakers, hairdressers, factory workers, laundry workers and clerks. One was a teacher and one a forewoman. Some had one room, some two, some a flat, some a house. Some were young with

young children, some had grown-up children at home or married.

Some were very "superior" and wrote a good hand, and their replies showed signs of their clerical training. Others were poor spellers and writers, but their earnestness forced its way through their illiteracy.

The girls' replies also came from various London districts, including Bow, Bethnal Green, Bromley, Hackney, Canning Town, Kensington, Southwark, Walworth and the West End. They included some "guides" still at school, "rangers," pupils from cookery classes and girls at work in office, shop, factory and institution.

Keen interest was taken by the housewives in the whole subject, and a high percentage of the papers distributed were returned. Readiness to assist the investigator was shown by the overburdened mother of a large family living in one room, no less than by the wife of the skilled worker on an L.C.C. estate. That a busy housewife should take the trouble to capture pencil or pen, rarely to be found easily in a home where children are, and where writing is not often practised, sit down in a crowded home and fill in a printed paperful of questions, adding frequently comments of her own on the back pages, is at least evidence of a genuine interest and pride in household management.

In the young girls' papers a noteworthy feature is the almost universal admiration expressed for their mothers' methods. To "ask mother," "follow my mother's example," "depend on common-sense and sometimes mother's help" constituted in many cases the sum of their plans for the future. On the whole the answers given by these girls were far inferior to those given by the mothers. They often showed that the questions had not been properly understood or even read through, and revealed a disappointing lack of interest in the subject. Perhaps this was to be expected, since the problems raised were only academic to the guides and rangers and other club girls, who would not themselves be housewives for some years. Of course there were many exceptions,



and some of the girls showed a keen interest in the way in which their own homes were run. But generally speaking the papers filled in by factory workers, who would on the average be older, reached a higher standard.

It is probable that replies to questions obtained in the manner described above tend to reveal the opinions of those who are somewhat above the average level of intelligence and capacity. To this extent the sample was not fully representative, and the impressions derived from a study of the replies require to be checked and supplemented from other sources.

For this purpose the opinions have been sought of social workers, of teachers, of inspectors and of any officials whose duties bring them into contact with working-class homes. Small shopkeepers have told of their experience of changes in popular taste. The managers of large stores have given details of their sales. Above all, homes have been visited, meals have been seen in progress, and the practical difficulties of catering and cooking have been observed and discussed. Finally the data have been checked by reference to the existing literature, including *inter alia* the reports of congresses in this and other countries which included working-class cookery and household management among their subjects of study, and also such valuable realistic studies of the problem as "The Pudding Lady" and Mrs. Pember Reeves' "Round about a Pound a Week."

That the private life of a man or woman should ever be seen from outside is impossible. Exposure to public gaze, however casual and however tactful that gaze, brings inevitably the distortion of self-consciousness. Yet it is hoped that by a many-sided approach, and by the correlation of the opinions of many and varied observers, the difficulty has been sufficiently overcome to justify this chapter.

#### WORKING-CLASS CATERING

The inquiry as to what foods are and are not bought by the London working-class housewife brought to light

the significant fact that the housewives of every grade and in every district who replied to the questions stated that they set the highest store upon good quality, or what they regarded as such. The comment of outside observers that the working-class women "will have the best" has its counterpart in the women's own statement, heard time and again, that "the cheapest is not the best" or "it doesn't pay to buy the cheapest." But that this does not necessarily imply indifference to good economy is seen from the fact that the demand for such things as bacon, butter and eggs goes down as soon as the price goes up. The housewife has not lost sight of the objective, which is value for money. But she estimates good quality at a high, perhaps an unduly high, value. English meat is often demanded, except where the cheaper cuts will serve for stews or for boiling, and in their purchase of margarine, jams, tinned foods and the like many women tend to favour the well-known brands and are not attracted by cheapness as such.

It is said indeed that grocers cannot ensure a sale of their brown or wholemeal bread unless they put a label round it, the purchaser having been taught by this custom of certain manufacturers of guaranteed quality flours to expect good quality from retailers only where the bread is sold under label.

This anxiety for good quality in food is symptomatic of the growing influence of education in matters of health. Susceptibility to advertisement assists in producing this result, but is not in itself the explanation of it. For though advertisement effects sales promptly and gains a trial for new goods, it is found that quality is essential for the creation of a sustained demand. The demand for "the best only" has however the drawback that unless controlled by expert knowledge of food values, it tends to extravagance, by discouraging the use of perfectly sound wholesome and nourishing foods which are not classed as best quality.

Bread is still the staple food, and it is principally (and in many households exclusively) white bread that is

bought. Brown bread and also wholemeal are however stocked even by the little bakers and dairy shops in purely working-class neighbourhoods, and are usually sold at week-ends. It is said that the sale of bread has gone down owing to the habit of eating cereals for breakfast. Certainly there has been a most pronounced decrease in the sale of stale bread, a fact which seems to reflect a definite rise in the standard of living of the poorest grades of the population. Flour on the other hand is probably used to-day to much the same extent as it was formerly. A number of wives still do their own baking, not only of bread but also of cakes and tarts. But all bakers now make pastry, since even in the poorer districts there is a demand for it.

After bread the most important article of food is meat, and there is nothing in which the catering of the British housewife contrasts more strongly with that of her sister on the continent, than in the prominent place which meat takes in the former's scheme of management. It is found in London that one good meat meal each day is the goal aimed at in every home. The Sunday joint is of course an institution in most households, but the normal amount spent upon it seldom exceeds 4s. 6d. As the cheapest cuts of meat are not much bought, while the remnants of the joint often suffice for the next day's meal, or even longer, it would seem that the quantity eaten per head is not very large. Stews are extensively used, and are usually composed of cheap cuts of meat and vegetables. In the poorest families such things as bones, pork rind, split peas and crusts will be ingredients. Soup however is never regarded as a meal—another contrast with continental practice.

The number of butchers' shops in London is striking, and far exceeds the number of fish and chip or other cooked food shops; this in itself is sufficient proof of the demand which exists for freshly cooked meat. In addition brawn, corned beef, sausages and the like are on sale in most of the grocers' shops. Corned beef ("bully" beef) in particular is very popular, the war not

having apparently induced any satiety. There is also a large sale for cubes of condensed beef essences. Now that these are obtainable in small one-person packings, they are much used instead of cold tea or beer by those members of a family who go out to work and take their dinner with them.

One interesting change which deserves special mention is that the custom at one time prevalent all over London of bakers running their ovens on Sundays to bake their customers' dinners has largely died out. In some districts however the bakers still cook every Sunday anything up to a hundred dinners which are brought to them in tins or earthenware dishes. The charge made is 3*d.* or 4*d.* according to the size of the joint, and the dinners are distinguished by metal tallies. But this practice only exists among the poorest people, and is due less to a desire to avoid the trouble of cooking than to a lack of cooking facilities. The proof of this is that women cease to bring their dinners to the baker to be cooked as soon as they have a gas oven available in their own homes.

As compared with a generation ago far more fruit is now bought, possibly as a result of the health propaganda of recent years; grapefruit for instance enjoys a considerable sale even in poor districts.

There is too an increased use of porridge, especially the varieties which can be quickly cooked, and of the many cereal breakfast foods. Again, cake mixtures and preparations such as custard powders are much more used than in the past, though opinions may differ as to whether this is an indication of progress or of deterioration in cooking ability.

On the other hand, cocoa is less used than formerly. Pickles also are less used and a different and sweeter kind has become popular. Butter, cheese and bacon are commodities where the demand is very sensitive to price changes. They are all largely bought when prices are low, but as soon as the cost goes up substitutes such as margarine are made to serve.

Though tinned fruits and other tinned foods are largely consumed the dependence of the housewife on tinned goods appears on the whole to be less than in the past. Tinned salmon is still often bought, but tinned rabbit which used to be a common dish has altogether lost its market owing to the cheapness of frozen rabbits. Tinned milk, though probably used less than formerly, is still much in demand, and is thought especially useful for puddings as it contains sugar. It is chiefly the poorer families and especially those in receipt of benefit or relief who buy their milk in this form. And the reason is not far to seek. Where the money available for keeping the family is small and subject to many demands, the housewife knows that she is more likely to have milk if she buys it at once, in the only form in which it will keep, than if she relies upon having the necessary pence each day.

The answers to the questionnaires stated that the majority of the women who gave information on the point used tinned foods in one form or another, but many of them admitted only to occasional purchases in an emergency or for a change. The time element enters in, and the fact that these foods require little or no cooking was often stressed as an advantage. One woman said that she found "tinned food very handy on washing days, being the mother of five children." Some said that they bought tinned things because they kept, others because they liked them. Those who did not buy tinned food either gave as their reason that they thought it had no nutritive value, or more often simply that they could not afford it. In general it was found that it was housewives of the higher economic grades who bought tinned foods, such as salmon, sardines or fruit, while the poorer families could afford little or none except milk. In this respect there appeared to be no distinction to be drawn between good and bad managers, or between those who had and those who had not been in domestic service.

From the information obtained as to the housewife's purchasing habits, it is not difficult to get some idea of the catering of an average working-class family. Break-

fast comprises bread, margarine or butter and tea, and often porridge or some other cereal. When eggs are cheap they are also included. For dinner there is usually meat with vegetables, and in many households apple dumpling or suet pudding is a favourite dish. There is if possible one good meal a day for each member of the family: whether they can all have it at the same time depends of course upon their respective hours of work. When, as often happens in the case of shift workers, the father comes home from work in the middle of the afternoon the dinner hour is usually fixed at that time, and then there will be no supper.

There is a tendency to conservatism and to suspicion or dislike of new dishes, and this of course limits the variety of the menus. Often the women say that they find the children more difficult to please than the husband. In general it seems that new recipes are received without enthusiasm, and each has to win its way on its merits.

One respect in which real progress has been made of recent years is in the food given to the children. The statement formerly made that nursery food is unknown for the children of the poor, who get only the remains of adult food, is no longer true. In many families the father is no longer specially privileged in the matter of catering. "I'm not giving him a chop when it's shepherd's pie for the children. He must have what they have," is the remark made by one mother, and is illustrative of a common attitude. Occasionally it is the children who are privileged. Homes are to be found where the children are given fresh milk, while the parents content themselves with tinned. Many of the mothers tend to overfeed their children; and this is confirmed by the parcels of bread and butter or sandwiches which are often found thrown away in the school playgrounds. But on the whole there has been a noticeable improvement, which is largely to be attributed to the work done by the Welfare Centres.

Shopping habits and preferences vary very widely, and the replies on these points to the questionnaires gave

somewhat negative results. For the purpose of the inquiry shops were divided into four classes: viz. the small shops, the big shops (including the multiple and departmental stores), the co-operative stores and the street markets.

One thing that emerges from the replies is the popularity of the street markets and the multiple grocery stores. Over two-thirds of the women who replied stated that they use the street markets, though only about a quarter of these rely on the markets exclusively. Again nearly half the women use the "big" shops, but only about one in eight do all their shopping there. The reasons given for preferring the big shops, whether "combine" or co-operative, are the cleanliness and quick turnover of goods, and street markets are sometimes objected to on hygienic grounds, especially for meat. The bargain basement of certain West End stores is extensively used by working-class housewives, who throng these "food markets" on Friday afternoons and Saturday mornings. "I think the big shops best," says one woman, "because they have quicker sales, therefore buy more often and we get fresher food." Comments such as these illustrate a certain realisation of the importance of fresh and clean food as an aid to health.

The street markets are used particularly for vegetables, which are thought to be cheaper and also fresher there than in the shops. In fact however this depends on the situation of the markets. Generally where a market exists in the neighbourhood of shops the prices are low both in the shops and on the stalls, as the presence of the stalls keeps the shops in check.

Cooked-food shops require a separate word of mention. They are not extensively used by the working-class housewife: in fact two-thirds of the women who replied stated that they do not buy any food at them at all, and many of the remainder only use them rarely or for particular things. In some of the poor districts there are comparatively few cooked-food shops, but on the other hand in a poor area like Stepney where there is a large population

of foreign extraction, cooked food is often bought and the *delicatessen* shops do a busy trade. On the whole, however, cooked-food shops cater more especially for the flat dweller of the clerical and professional element of the middle classes. The prices are not low enough to bring them within reach of working housewives.

Fish and chip shops, though largely patronised by individual workpeople, especially for supper, are not generally resorted to by working-class housewives catering for a family. These shops as a rule are only open for certain hours, usually from 12 to 2 p.m. and from 6.30 p.m., and on Mondays they are closed all day. They sell their supplies as they cook them and shut down afterwards.

Eels hot or jellied are often bought and make a cheap and nourishing meal. Live ones for home cooking may also be obtained, but as the smell of eels cooking is very searching and potent the housewife generally prefers to buy the ready cooked dish.

The London working-class housewife usually does her shopping from day to day. In fact, nearly two-thirds of the women said that this was their practice. The purchasing of food each day seems to be almost universal, and meat, ~~are~~, milk, fruit, vegetables and butter or margarine ~~are~~ also very often bought daily. Sometimes this is done for economy. The housewife dares not purchase more than the small amount she can afford to let her family eat at one meal. "If I got more it would all go just the same," said one woman in explanation of her daily buying of butter. Lack of storage room also makes it often impracticable to shop in advance. Above all, few working-class homes have any facilities for keeping food fresh, especially in hot weather. "Yes, I buy daily, because living on the top floor I get most of the heat there," is typical of the comments that are made on this question. Even non-perishable foods like tea are occasionally put down as daily purchases.

Many women say that they prefer daily shopping because it gives them the chance of an outing, and it must



be admitted that sometimes if it were not for her shopping the mother would never get out at all. As a matter of fact, however, it is often enough the children who run out to make the purchases.

But where the housewife has adequate storage facilities the week's shopping of groceries and the buying of the Sunday dinner are the great events of the week. Shopping is done on Fridays, Saturdays and in some districts on Sunday mornings.

It has been said that prices, especially for greenstuffs, are raised in shops on Friday evening and remain higher until late Saturday evening, so that it is best to watch cheaper days for buying. This may be the practice in some neighbourhoods, especially if there is no street market to keep shop prices down, but it is certainly not general. On the contrary, the shops and hawkers alike are anxious to have no surplus stock on a Saturday night, as little shopping is done again until Tuesday.

In rare instances provisions are bought ahead in large quantities, the outlay being made as soon as the money comes to hand. One woman indeed said that she bought her flour by the peck and also kept a stock of dry goods, which she put into bottles with screw tops. It was found however, that it was only in those families which had good wages and accommodation that the wives made a point of buying in large quantities on grounds of good management and economy. Shopping in advance presupposes a certain feeling of security for the future, a feeling not easily to be induced where work is ill-paid or uncertain.

In the poorer districts some classes of food shops often find that the busiest time of the day is before breakfast, while trade is also brisk just before dinner and just before the evening meal. This means that the population around does its shopping immediately before the meal for which the purchases are made. One baker stated that his breakfast takings were sometimes as high as £2. This practice of buying for the next meal is partly the result of habit. In some places it has been ascribed to the fact that wives after getting the breakfast go out to

work, very often as charwomen, and they have not the money wherewith to buy the midday meal until they have earned it that same morning.

But despite the continuance of this hand-to-mouth method of shopping it seems to be clear that there is now far more shopping ahead, on Friday or Saturday for the following week, than was the custom formerly.

*Meals from Home.*—The last few years have witnessed the growth of what is now, at all events among the higher grades, the fairly widespread habit of having meals away from home, a habit which not only has its effect upon the catering, but also gives opportunities of observing in shops and restaurants the likes and dislikes of those who patronise them. It is the fact that smaller joints are bought now than was once the custom. But the explanation may be, not that the consumption of meat per head is less than it was, but that some members of the family have their dinner out and so need not be catered for. So too the habit of taking sandwiches has created a sale for meat and fish pastes, while dried fruits and the like which are obtainable in small cartons are bought to serve the same purpose.

There are many reasons for this modern practice. On the average the worker now has to travel a greater distance to get from home to his work. Larger numbers now go straight from work to their games and evening classes. Facilities for having cheap and quick meals out have increased very greatly with the rise of the big companies owning hundreds of teashops where a wide range of foods can be obtained.

Over thirty years ago Charles Booth pointed out that "large classes must be compelled to obtain their food ready-cooked, and in this connection it is eminently desirable that increased facilities should be furnished." The modern multiple teashop goes far towards satisfying his desire. There is here great variety in the fare provided and the foods chosen, and on the whole the meals bought by the girls as well as the men are nourishing and well-balanced. It is noticeable that there is a demand for

many dishes (e.g. salads) not normally provided at home.

Nevertheless the little dining-rooms and "saloons" are still well patronised, and probably most working men prefer their more calm and homely atmosphere, in spite of the fact that they offer a more limited menu, and that the food is sometimes indifferently cooked and by no means cheap, in comparison with the value given by the big caterers.

#### DEFECTS AND THEIR CAUSES

In order to arrive at a just conclusion as to the relationship between good or bad housekeeping and the well-being or poverty of London working-class families, it is essential to try to form a picture of the environment and conditions within which the average working-class housewife has to work. For these conditions limit and determine the form and possibilities of working-class cookery and management, no less surely and strictly than the design and character of a skilled craftsman's product are limited and determined by the materials and tools with which he operates, and the nature of the demand which he has to supply. The chief limiting conditions which give rise to difficulties for the London working-class housewife may be classified as limitations of space, time, equipment and skill on her own part, together with the prejudices and defects of appreciation on the part of the other members of the family. Let us take these difficulties in order.

##### (a) *Lack of Space.*

One of the greatest difficulties which beset the London housewife in her cooking is lack of accommodation. The problems which the use of the same room as bedroom, living-room and kitchen entails are too obvious to need mention. But quotation may be allowed of one woman's comment upon the conditions under which she has to work. She says: "Husband, myself, five children, we eat, sleep, dry clothes, keep cleaning utensils, and every-

thing is shut in with us as people live upstairs and we keep our door shut. We are all beds so you can tell how awkward it is for cooking and eating."

Washing day in a small working-class tenement leaves little space or time for cooking.

The answers given by the women to the questionnaires showed that 54 per cent. had a kitchen or a kitchen-parlour, 7 per cent. shared a kitchen with other people in the house (often their own or their husbands' relations), and 39 per cent. had no kitchen.

Even to share a kitchen has its drawbacks. Both families may want to cook at the same time, and dishes have to be chosen which can be cooked quickly. Pride too sometimes leads to competition and extravagance, and there are many possibilities of dissension. The storing of food presents a further problem, all the more acute because the replies received testify to a genuine and widespread desire to possess clean and well-ventilated places for storing. Insufficiency or unsuitability of storage accommodation is mentioned over and over again in the replies. Only 13 per cent. of the women who gave information as to storage have a larder, 7 per cent. have sculleries in which they keep food stored, 35 per cent. store in the kitchen and 45 per cent. in a cupboard in the living-room. Many supplement the accommodation by using safes or home-made boxes which are placed on the landing or window-sill. The effect of this lack of storage upon the housewife's shopping habits will be apparent. "Shopping ahead," said one girl, "depends entirely on what kinds of safes and cupboards you have."

The impossibility of keeping fresh food under these conditions compels frequent purchases of small quantities, which is itself uneconomical. The practice of daily purchases has already been referred to, and the main reason given was the difficulty of keeping perishable foods, especially in hot weather, in the limited and unsuitable storage space available. But lack of space also restricts the power of storing non-perishable foods, e.g. flour or potatoes.

How great an obstacle bad housing is to improved housekeeping and cookery is clearly seen when we turn from cramped and overcrowded tenements to such houses as are built by the London County Council in their cottage estates on the outskirts of the Survey Area. Not that the tenants of these cottages do not grumble, especially at the high rent and expenses of transport which deplete the family resources, or at the alarming increase in the children's appetites in the better air. But the mothers find their nerves better and work easier. There is much less cleaning to be done, there is room for the children, and they are much better in health. Housework is more easily and quickly done when the children are playing in safety. Cookery is easier and pleasanter, and while it is true that some tenants from slum homes tend to carry with them the slum mind and atmosphere, there is evidence that many others are responsive to the new and better facilities and appliances, and are most anxious to improve their methods. Here is probably the most fruitful field for educational effort on right lines.

(b) *Lack of Time.*

The housekeeping arrangements of a working-class family are perhaps even more affected by lack of time than lack of space.

The care of the home and family, especially if there are young children, leaves the housewife the minimum of time for her marketing and cooking. It is impossible under such circumstances to obtain the best value for money, or to prepare the most nutritious, economical and appetising of meals.

Where there are young children not at school, the work of a mother is never done. As soon as the lull after the departure of husband and any young people who go out to work is over, and the school-children dispatched on their way, there is the baby to wash and attend to, clearing up to be done, and then the school-children are home almost before they are wanted. Then come more meals, perhaps for different hours, more clearing up and

washing dishes, though this is but a small part of the work that has to be done. Some women wear themselves out "trying to keep the dirt down," and have little time for careful catering and cooking. And besides the cleaning, the sewing, the perpetual attention that must be given to young children, there are many other demands on the mother's time. A child must be taken to hospital, the baby to the Welfare Centre, the school-leaver to the Juvenile Advisory Committee or there is a medical inspection and the mother must attend. In these circumstances puddings which require preparation several hours before the mother has any leisure to set about the task are hardly likely to be eagerly adopted.

Moreover, the necessity of buying in a hurry makes economical purchasing very difficult, for good marketing especially in street markets demands leisure. Many of the poorer housewives buy at the nearest shop, partly because it gives them credit, but also because of the saving of time. Some of the replies received from women show clearly how they are induced to buy foods which they would otherwise prefer not to buy, because they need little or no cooking. Especially on washing day—that great disorganiser of a working woman's household arrangements—tinned or ready cooked food will be sent out for, since there is neither space nor time to cook at home. In some families washing day is the one day in the week when tinned food is used.

The preciousness of time has naturally led to a whole host of inventions, such as cake mixtures and similar preparations, which are widely and increasingly popular, because they give variety without encroaching unduly on the housewife's scanty leisure. Some old-fashioned housewives lament the growing use of prepared "packet" foods, but there is another aspect of the question which is sometimes overlooked. The very ease of the process of preparation undoubtedly inspires many young housewives to start making their own cakes and puddings. Thus the food factory, if it has undermined home craft,

is by its partially prepared products leading the way back to home cooking.

It is possible that a remedy for part at least of the present difficulty of time will be found in some adaptation of the low-pressure "conservative" cookers which are now on the market, and which it is said cook in one-third of the normal time, with little heat and without waste of the valuable elements of the food. The great barrier at present to the extended use of such cookers in working-class households is their high initial cost. If and when some fresh invention or simplification of production lowers the price to a point within the means of those that need them most, they may prove a very great relief to the over-driven and handicapped working mother.

(c) *Lack of Facilities.*

A third great obstacle to good housekeeping is lack of suitable implements and facilities. Of ordinary cooking utensils there need be no want, and indeed the improvement which has taken place in this respect in most families is certainly one of the most marked signs of progress to which the last twenty years can point. This is mainly due to the cheapness with which in recent years large and varied supplies of household goods have been placed upon the market as a result of commercial enterprise. Aluminium pans, screw-top bottles, fire-proof casseroles and glass ovenware are among the articles now on sale for 3*d.* and 6*d.* at the cheap stores which have sprung up over London. Nor is it only the price of these utensils that has helped the poorer housewife. The range of labour-saving appliances has undoubtedly raised her standard of living, by suggesting to her mind the possibility of new dishes and new forms of cookery. It is true that a good many working-class families are still deficient in cooking utensils, but for the most part they have the remedy in their own hands.

But if a shortage of cookery utensils is not at present among the difficulties by which any save the poorest need be hampered, the same cannot be said of other facilities

and instruments for cooking, such as water supply and cooking-stoves. It is the exception rather than the rule to have water ready at hand in unlimited quantities. In half the houses investigated water has to be fetched from outside the tenement, often from a tap on the landing, sometimes from across a yard, at others up or down three flights of stairs. Nor is the place for emptying dirty water always where the tap is; it may be yet further away. The fetching and carrying of jugs and pails is thus often no small part of the day's work, and in fact one's nearness to the tap is spoken of as one of the compensations for living in the basement. Such conditions are obviously detrimental to good cooking methods. Where the sink for washing up is remote, the utensils used will be reduced to a minimum. Where running water is not readily accessible, a reluctance to prepare vegetables will be the result, and other foods will be bought in preference.

As regards cooking facilities, it appears that in the great majority of working-class homes both coal and gas are available as fuel. The poorer homes which have coal fires only are either in the basement, where the original kitchen range still remains, or on the top floor. In many of these converted houses the top rooms were intended for servants and the fireplaces are quite unsuitable for the needs of a family. But gas cookers with ovens are not supplied to one-roomed homes, though sometimes a griller and ring are in use. Those families which have gas alone are either those whose homes consist of a couple of rooms, where the fire grate is unsuitable for supporting saucepans, or those whose earnings bring them within the higher grades, and who are able to have a proper gas stove standing usually in the scullery-kitchen for all cooking purposes.

The replies received disclose no decided preference as between gas or coal for cooking. The younger women who have always had gas prefer it for cooking, whereas the older women often consider that a better flavour is obtained with a coal-fire oven. Gas is preferred chiefly



because of its greater cleanliness. It is to be borne in mind that the fire in most homes is an open fire and not a range. The result of using it is to impose upon the housewife the fatigue and irritation of cleaning sooty saucepans, often with no tap or sink at hand and with washing-up to be done on the only table. Cooking by gas has also the great advantage, much stressed by the women in their answers, that it heats the room less. In houses where the kitchen and the living room are one and the same, the heat of a coal fire may in the summer be intolerable. In those East End houses in which there are small ranges with ovens in two- or three-roomed houses, there is often a gas stove in the scullery.

The housewives' opinions on the relative cost of the two fuels varied very greatly, the difference of individual experience being no doubt largely due to the fact that stoves and grates vary greatly in efficiency. Where an isolated piece of cooking has to be done it is probably cheaper as well as quicker to do it by gas instead of lighting a fire specially for the purpose. But where the fire would in any event be burning for the sake of the heat, the additional cost of using it for cooking, especially where there is an oven, is negligible.

Electrical stoves are installed in many of the new L.C.C. flats. The cleanliness of this form of fuel and the constant supply of hot water which accompanies it make it very popular.

The question of the cost of fuel is of importance, because the choice of food and the manner of its cooking depend in some measure upon it. Boiled puddings and cheap joints of meat, which require long stewing to make them palatable, are often not the inexpensive meals they are supposed to be, seeing that every penny put into the gas meter goes to swell their cost. It is natural that in many houses the frying-pan should be used more than the steamer. Sometimes too the pressure of gas is so poor that cooking cannot be done when the light is on, so that those dishes are chosen which need the shortest preparation.

*(d) Lack of Skill and Knowledge.*

The average London working-class housewife is not commonly credited with any high degree of skill in cookery. How far common opinion is justified in this matter it is very difficult to ascertain with any exactitude. Not only are judgments on matters of taste proverbially diverse, but there is no one satisfactory test that can be applied for the purposes of comparison. There are indeed at least four possible bases of comparison: (1) with the cookery standards of households of another social grade, e.g. the London middle-class, (2) with cookery standards in working-class households abroad, (3) with cookery standards in London working-class households at some previous date, (4) with some ideal culinary and dietetic standard worked out on the principle of securing the maximum nutritive value and attractiveness from a food expenditure within the means of an ordinary working-class household.

Each of these bases of comparison has something to recommend it, but each has also its drawbacks and qualifications. The last, which is at first sight the most attractive, is practically valueless, unless full weight could be given to all the handicaps and difficulties which have already been enumerated above, such as cramped space, absence of storage, defective water supply or cooking apparatus, and the severe limitation of time arising from other pressing duties.

The first (i.e. a comparison between working-class and middle-class cooking) may be very misleading, though probably it is the comparison which, consciously or unconsciously, is most often applied, inasmuch as the suggested standard is within the personal experience of most investigators and writers, and of the reading public whom they address. Judgments, however, of one social class on the ways of life of another are notoriously untrustworthy, because it is almost impossible to make the right allowances for the different conditions prevailing.

Comparisons with the past would perhaps be helpful

if the data for the purpose were available, and if we could be certain that the same standards have been applied throughout. Unfortunately the data for a comparison are very incomplete and fragmentary. No avowed attempt to investigate scientifically the cookery and household management practised in working-class homes has hitherto been made. Studies of poverty and the problems created by poverty provide much incidental information, but without the statistical basis which alone would make it of value for comparative purposes.

For the rest, the knowledge of the past must be derived from recollection either of skilled observers or of those who a generation ago were already housewives. Memories of old people however are often hazy and their range of comparison limited, while the recollections even of skilled observers are difficult to evaluate. We are none of us the same people we were twenty, thirty or more years ago. We acquire broader or narrower views, change our environment, mellow or harden with our experience of life, and our judgments are apt to differ accordingly. Those of us on the other hand who do not in some measure move with the times, may be even less qualified as critics. Again, social workers who deal mainly with a particular type (the very poor or the submerged or bad housing victims) find it difficult to recognise progress, since those who acquire a higher standard move out of the observer's orbit, leaving only the same material behind.

Notwithstanding these difficulties in arriving at any positive conclusion it may be said that the evidence available suggests that there has been some upward progress in the culinary capacity of the average London housewife, though by no means proportionate to the expenditure of energy and money on the teaching of cookery and the inculcation of better methods. The reasons for this disproportion require careful examination (see below, pp. 329-30).

It may however be said at once that the comparatively disappointing results achieved are partly due (and this

is also true of continental experience) to the exaggerated expectations formerly entertained of what might be accomplished by mere teaching, apart from the removal of the obstacles to good practice arising from bad housing and unsatisfactory social conditions. Possibly this accounts for the fact that at successive meetings of International Congresses on household instruction the reports on progress read strangely like those of earlier years, with however the significant difference that a less hopeful tone pervades them.

Finally, direct comparison of the household economy of the London working women with that of Paris, Brussels or Berlin is extremely difficult, in view of national differences in standards and choice of foods. Enough however is known to make it fairly certain that there is a much greater gulf between continental food and cooking and that of British households of all classes than between the chief continental countries of Western and Central Europe. On the continent we find a greater use and wider range of vegetables and salads, and better methods of preparing them; more conservative ways of cooking, e.g. casseroles, in place of boiling and roasting, soups used as normal constituents of meals, and a greater use of fats and oils, spices and flavourings. Generally speaking, there is more imagination put into the cooking and garnishing of dishes, resulting in greater variety in the menus. The utensils and equipment of a working-class kitchen are also generally superior to those of a kitchen of similar grade in London.

There can be little doubt that, on the whole, the continental standard of appreciation of good cooking is higher than that prevailing in this country, with the result that a higher level of skill in the culinary art is expected and obtained from the average continental working housewife. An English social worker who has for years been working abroad among English wives of repatriated Germans says that these women, mostly Londoners, compared very unfavourably with the German women in matters of cookery.

It is an interesting question, on which however the present inquiry can shed little light, how far the observed differences between countries in working-class cuisine are the reflection of differences in geographical, climatic and economic conditions, or how far they imply differences of racial capacities and tastes. It is well known that in colonising overseas the English tend to take their cookery methods with them and that the same is true of the French and Germans. It is at least certain that the London housewife is tied to her present methods, not solely or even mainly by her own limitations of skill or even by the physical and social conditions under which she works, but even more by the likes and dislikes, the tastes and prejudices and demands of the family for whom she has to cater. If she were replaced by her continental sister bringing with her a superior power of producing varied and nutritious meals at lower cost, it is highly probable that the average London workman would dislike and resent the change.

(c) *Difficulties arising from Habit.*

We are therefore led to consider the last category of the housewife's difficulties, viz. those arising from family habits and prejudices. Working-class habits in respect of food are very frequently criticised on the ground of wastefulness, fastidiousness and excessive conservatism. Wastefulness is obviously inconsistent with the most economic use of available resources, while fastidiousness and conservatism if carried to excessive lengths offer formidable obstacles to the introduction of greater variety in the menu and the systematic use of the most nourishing and suitable foods. It is therefore of interest to inquire how far the criticisms are justified. This is obviously not a question that can be conclusively answered by collecting replies to a questionnaire, but light is nevertheless thrown upon it from various angles by the inquiries that have been made.

Wastefulness in the sense of bad distribution of expenditure is a fault for which every section of the

community can with almost equal truth blame every other. Criticisms of working-class wastefulness are indeed neither new nor confined to this country. So far back as 1875 we find the Education Department of that day referring to "the deplorable ignorance of women of the working classes in cookery, waste, practical household economy."<sup>1</sup> In 1886 the Belgian Labour Commission made very similar criticisms, referring especially to the cases in which the women work in factories with the result that "the income is squandered . . . the meals are badly and hastily prepared."<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to evaluate such criticisms without knowing the criteria adopted and the scale of values accepted by their authors.

There is of course much actual waste in London working-class families, due to ignorance of food values or methods of food preparation, resulting in uneconomic expenditure and consumption, and moreover there is, as has already been pointed out, much wastefulness in marketing caused by lack of storage and irregularity of income. These forms of waste however are rather incidents of poverty and ignorance than independent causes of privation. The deliberate waste of food, which is *pro tanto* a direct cause of poverty, is a good deal less in evidence to-day than it was a generation ago. Much less bread is thrown away, and the general opinion of dustmen appears to be that much less food is now included in the rubbish which they collect. It must be admitted however that differences of methods of dust collection as between different districts and periods and the lack of facilities for burning rubbish in tenements where there is no fire make any comparison on this basis very precarious. But even after making ample allowance for these factors there can be little doubt that this kind of waste is decreasing. The habit of leaving food uneaten on the plate is still apparently regarded as good manners,

<sup>1</sup> Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1906, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Housewifery Instruction in State-supported Schools in Belgium, in Vol. 16, Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1906, p. 60.

but the amount of food intentionally wasted in this way can only be a very small fraction of the whole.

Fastidiousness is a quality that from one point of view may be regarded as an excess of the virtue of discrimination, which in turn is closely connected with an improved standard of living. A fastidious palate however is often the result not of fine appreciation but of vitiated air and low physique. In the air of an overcrowded slum "appetites are jaded and the food that would be nutritious and valuable and would be greedily eaten by people who lived in the open air seems tasteless and sickly to those who have slept four in a bed in a room 10 × 12 feet."<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the slum is a stronghold of prejudices and conventions about food which obstruct culinary improvement. Some of these objections, such as the very prevalent belief that re-heated food, or frozen meat contains no nutriment, are at least intelligible. Others, e.g. the dislike of porridge, are not difficult to understand, given slum conditions. But this can hardly be said of the common refusal in a poor district like Hoxton to touch cooked fruit, whether stewed or in puddings or pies—an objection which curiously enough does not extend either to tinned fruit or jam.

Incidentally it may be observed that the dislike of re-heated food is one of the contributory causes to the hand-to-mouth marketing which has already been noted as wasteful. Many of the poorer housewives aim at having nothing over from meal to meal. One result noted is that food is sometimes wasted by the family eating more in order "not to waste it."

Fastidiousness which merely takes the form of preferences, however illogical, can hardly be said to be a direct cause of waste, though it is clearly an obstacle to the best use of available foodstuffs and it is hence conducive to an uneconomical use of resources. The more extreme form of fastidiousness which involves actual refusal to eat the food served is less common. "They grumble, but they eat," was the comment of a housewife.

<sup>1</sup> *Reports of Guildhall Conference on Diet, Cookery and Hygiene, 1913.*

Here, as often, we are in the presence of a vicious circle of mutual reactions, and it is impossible to say how far poverty is a cause or result of the habits which are found associated therewith. It is proper to add that the evidence of those who are responsible for running canteens is that office workers are generally more fastidious and more apt to leave their food than factory operatives.

Insistence on the close connection between poverty conditions and defects of habit with regard to choice and appreciation of food, does not of course imply that nothing can be done or is being done to improve matters by education. But it is clear that so long as bad housing and poverty persist the organisers of cookery instruction have a very uphill task.

#### CHANGES IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS

How far have these obstacles to good household management decreased or increased in the last forty years? Records of contemporary observers or conferences throw little or no light on the question. They make it clear that all the present difficulties are of old standing, but the relative weight attributed to each factor varies with the psychology of the observer or the current philosophy of the day. Certain things however are fairly obvious. The difficulty of inadequate and badly planned space is yielding, but only very slowly, to the efforts at increasing and improving house accommodation for London workpeople, as may be inferred from the data assembled in the chapters dealing with overcrowding and housing. Difficulties arising from lack of storage facilities, inadequate or inconveniently placed water supply, and defective cooking stoves are also decreasing, especially in newly built houses, though here again the pace of improvement is too slow. The revolution effected by the cheap stores in the supply of inexpensive kitchen utensils has already gone far to remove any difficulty on the ground of inadequate pots and pans.

The time difficulty however still obstinately remains, and while some of the changes that have taken place



have diminished it others have perhaps made it more acute. The great development of "bag wash"<sup>1</sup> has undoubtedly decreased for many working-class households the recurrent horrors of washing day. The more general introduction of a variety of prepared and half-prepared foods which require but a short time for further cooking must also have been some relief to many over-driven housewives, whatever may be the shortcomings of such foods from the purely dietetic or economic point of view. Moreover the general shortening of hours of labour has increased the margin of leisure, and thus *pro tanto* relieved the time pressure, in the case of a number of housewives who also go out to work. Inventions of cooking apparatus which greatly reduce the time required for cooking, though their price is still prohibitive to the average workman's household, hold out a welcome promise of future relief, if and when a sufficiently cheapened article is placed upon the market. They should also decrease the difficulty now presented to the housewife by recipes which are at once cheap, nutritious and appetising, but which make excessive demands on her scanty time. This however is a matter for the future.

Meanwhile there are forces to be reckoned with which operate in an opposite direction. New and varied interests have sprung up which make insistent demands on the housewife's time in competition with home management and cooking. Some of these are healthy developments, e.g. the growth of the reading habit or of "listening in," nor will anyone who is familiar with working-class life regard time spent at the "talkies" as wholly wasted. But all these rival interests, however innocent and healthy in themselves, encroach on the time available for household economy though they may on the other hand relieve the monotony of domestic drudgery.

Obstacles arising from prejudices and habits with regard to food are among the most difficult to move, but

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. V, p. 348.

the spread of education, both general and special, must in the long run tend to act as a solvent on such of these habits and predispositions as are not ultimately based on rational grounds.

The systematic efforts that have been made to improve working-class cookery practice by direct teaching, whether in day schools, evening classes or elsewhere are described in the following section.

### COOKERY TRAINING

Opportunities for education in cookery are not lacking in London. At school it is a part of the compulsory curriculum for girls, while in very many clubs and institutions cookery classes are provided where the school training can be continued or revived. But it is beyond question that full advantage is not taken of these facilities. Some of the difficulties are inherent, others seem only accidental, but their combined effect is to create a very real barrier in the way of improvement.

The cookery instruction given in the elementary schools in London consists of two half-days a week for about 44 weeks in the year during the last two years of school life. As long ago as 1904 there were in existence 183 cookery centres in the County of London attended by over 45,000 girls. In 1931 the number of centres at which cookery was taught for the whole or part of the year was 325, with an attendance of 70,000 girls.

The cookery instruction given in elementary schools is in itself good and practical. Criticism is often levelled at the cookery classes in schools on the ground that the teaching is too theoretical, or that the food used is too expensive or unsuitable, or that the equipment is too elaborate. It is of course impossible that teaching should be perfectly adapted to all members of the class. A class is composed of children from varied homes, and even in a district where the occupations and approximate wages of the fathers are known, and are taken as the base of the budget on which menus are planned, differ-

ences in rent and size of family are bound to make this sum too high for some and too low for others. The teacher too is not faced with the problems of lack of time, lack of utensils or lack of room to work in. But if allowance is made for these inevitable differences, there is little foundation for the criticisms which are made, though some of the teachers would doubtless benefit by knowing more of the actual homes from which their children come.

Nevertheless the profit to the girls of their cookery lessons at school seems to be inadequate to the time and labour spent upon them. The main reason for this is the long time which elapses between the years of learning and the years of practice. It was said at the Guildhall Conference in 1913 and is equally true to-day that "the interval is much too long for any teaching which they may have assimilated to remain in their minds."

The girls who received the questionnaire were asked whether they thought their cookery lessons were likely to be of any use to them. The answers left no doubt as to the great popularity of these classes, and the majority said that they were useful, but the latter statement was often qualified. For example: "As it is usually learnt between the ages of 11 and 13 it is natural that a great deal is forgotten by the time you have left school." ". . . of use, providing mothers let the children practise at home." "The evening classes I attended during my working career will be of more value to me than those I attended while at school, as being older you are naturally more interested." The replies also indicated a general conviction that where their mothers' method and the school method differed, their mothers' was the better one.

The real difficulty is that often the girls are not allowed to help their mothers with the cooking at home, so that the knowledge acquired at school fades away through lack of practice. It is true that more than half the girls who answered the questionnaire said that they did cook at

home, but in many cases it was only seldom or on Sundays. Lack of time is partly responsible for this; the girl who goes into business on leaving school is too fully occupied to have time for household matters. Often the mother prefers to do the cooking herself, her natural conservatism combining with the fear of having good food spoilt to make her reluctant to allow her daughter to experiment on the household. Whatever the cause the girls are seldom able to practise their cooking regularly at home. There are of course many exceptions. But the more usual experience is that in the long interval between school and marriage there is an almost complete holiday from cookery.

This interruption would seem not to be inevitable, for after school life is over there are abundant facilities in the form of evening classes conducted by the Education Authority for training in cookery. But only a small proportion of the girls avail themselves of these, and the majority of them are found to be girls who have recently married or are shortly going to marry. During the session 1932-33 there were 113 evening centres at which cookery was taught for the whole or part of the time, with an attendance of 5,600 girls.

There are several types of club or institution in connection with which evening classes for women or girls are held. The L.C.C. Women's Institutes and Free Institutes provide extremely good cookery classes, where the instruction is more informal and also more advanced than at school. As the students attend voluntarily it may be assumed that they are all keen and interested, and the teaching is efficient. But these classes only attract small numbers, and overtime and other engagements make attendance irregular. Those students who do belong often attend for several years, so that the aggregate number of those who pass through these classes is even smaller than appears at first sight.

There are also cookery classes at some of the Polytechnics, and in the ten years from 1919 to 1929 the number of students enrolled in them increased from 141

to 545. These classes are composed largely of those who require the instruction rather for professional purposes than as potential housewives.

The "Home Training" schools were evolved from the former Domestic Economy schools, and before the war numbered thirteen in the County of London. Now all but four have been closed as a result of lack of support. The admirably practical course of instruction includes a variety of subjects, some of them purely cultural, and ranges from one to two or even three years. The girls who attend are drawn largely from "lower middle-class" families, and many come to them with L.C.C. scholarships. But excellent as these schools are they demand by their very nature an expenditure of time, if not also of money, which makes them useless to all save a few working-class girls.

In mothers' clubs and girls' clubs alike it is rare to find classes in cookery, and the same is true of the infant welfare centres. Lack of premises and equipment is largely responsible for this: a cookery class requires a far more elaborate setting than do classes which do not depend upon practical demonstration for their value. In addition many welfare centres take the view that cookery training is no part of the work for which they primarily exist, and they are content to rely upon the personal instruction given now and again in an informal way by the doctors and nurses.

These difficulties are unfortunate, inasmuch as the infant welfare centres have a strong and enduring hold on the women, and reach sections of the community which are beyond the range of more formal institutions. They can moreover be overcome, as is shown by the fact that some centres do run successful and popular cookery classes. With the girls' clubs there is also the problem of lack of time. Club leaders stress the difficulty of inducing girls who leave work at 5.30 or 6 p.m. and who in any event would probably take a commercial course as their first choice, to give up an evening to such a subject as cookery.

The training given in the "guide" companies includes instruction in cookery, and the experts who act as judges in the competitions report that the cookery work done is good and promising. But it is found that often proficiency is sought with no other end in view than that of gaining the appropriate badge, and once this object is attained interest in cookery declines.

There are other ways also, some of them incidental to commercial enterprise, in which education in food matters is available. The Gas Companies have a staff of trained cookery lecturers and demonstrators who give free classes not only in their own showrooms and in some of the large shops but also to clubs and centres, besides giving demonstrations in the consumers' homes.

Then, too, booklets and pamphlets dealing with home cooking and kindred subjects are issued in large numbers, not only by associations such as the New Health Society but also by the manufacturers and sellers of various food-stuffs. Lastly, the B.B.C. gives talks on catering matters, and a special department under a housewifery expert has been established to deal with the correspondence sent in by listeners.

#### DOMESTIC SERVICE AS A TRAINING IN HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

In dealing with many of London industries in other volumes, prominence has been given to methods of training in the workshop as well as in the school. For the ordinary practice of domestic economy, however (as distinct from the training of the professional cook or other domestic servant), the training of most of the future housewives, apart from the teaching of the school, depends solely on their mothers, who even if they have the leisure to give the training, are much more likely to pass on traditional methods than to encourage new departures and experiments.

For such girls, however, as adopt domestic service as a calling there is an opportunity for obtaining a wider range of experience, which it is natural to suppose will

be a useful preparation for married life. It is common in fact to bemoan the decline of domestic service on the ground (among others) that a valuable means of training future housewives is being lost. An effort was therefore made to elicit the views both of working-class girls and their mothers as to the value of domestic service as a training for married life, and the replies are illuminating if inconclusive. The mothers who answered were fairly evenly divided in their opinions, but only a very few of the girls thought domestic service a help. One mother who had herself been in service gave as her opinion:

"Yes, certainly domestic service is of help to a girl in instructing her in methodically keeping the house clean and tidy. But economically rather a disadvantage, as orders given on the 'phone, at the door, etc., give no comparison of prices, and in large houses cost is often a minor consideration. In marriage cost is generally of vital importance."

Another was more caustic in her remarks:

"I think housekeeping is a matter of common sense and trying. I do not think that being in service before marriage helps at all. I have friends that have been in service before marriage and friends that have been in business and I much prefer the homes and cooking of the business girl. My experience of girls that have been in service is that they lose all ambition of home life. Their aim is to get out, and when they marry they cannot make a home on a small scale; as regards cooking, unless a girl has absolutely been with the cook in a kitchen of a big house she knows no more about cooking than the business girl and does not seem as keen."

The girls tended mostly to be in favour of business employment rather than domestic service as a training.

The general opinion as elicited in these answers was that domestic service is defective as a training, because the girl does not have the spending of the money or the selection of the meal; it is not her own things that she spoils or for which she is responsible, and unless her duties lie in the kitchen her experience only extends over a small part of the field of housewifery. To these criticisms must be added the radical differences in the

circumstances which afterwards confront the servant who achieves on marriage a home of her own—the lack of time and utensils, the smallness of the kitchen, the bad stove or small gas-ring, and all the other problems which the conditions of her existence will set.

All these criticisms have force, but they should not be pressed too far. It seems likely that the extreme unpopularity of residential domestic service among present-day London girls has resulted in a fairly strong bias which must be discounted in considering the opinions which they express. The fact remains that many of the most capable housewives who replied to the questionnaire had themselves been in domestic service, or else in the catering trades, which are the other chief branch of industry in which knowledge and experience of value in household management can be acquired.

#### CONCLUSION

The main practical conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is that the best hope of improvement in the standard of working-class cookery lies in the gradual removal or amelioration of the economic and other conditions which at present hamper progress, together with a concurrent development of practical instruction in cookery, the more informal the better, adapted to the needs of girls *after* they have left school and especially of women who have already gained practical experience of housekeeping. Stress is laid on this rather than on expanding the teaching for girls of elementary school age, because experience shows that under present conditions excessive waste of effort is caused by the long gap of years between the teaching and its practical application. As already observed, however, this gap is not necessarily inevitable and a change of conditions might close or narrow it. All the evidence suggests that in recent years the education of the mothers, and with it their responsiveness to the advice of the various social agencies which exist to help them, have on the whole been progressively improved and quickened. If ever



the time should come when the improvement of social conditions and the further progress of education enabled and induced the average London housewife to regard it as part of her ordinary routine to afford her daughters adequate opportunities of practising at home the art of cooking which they have learned at school, the situation and outlook would be much more hopeful.

## CHAPTER XIII

### MENTAL DEFICIENCY IN RELATION TO POVERTY

#### I

THE present Survey of London Life and Labour is primarily concerned with the conditions under which the great mass of the normal inhabitants of London are living and working. Within the limits of so great a community there are of course very wide differences of mental and physical capacity and energy, and these in turn have various and complex relations with the widely differing conditions of individual well-being and poverty which exist side by side. The term "normal" as here used is therefore far from indicating uniformity, but it implies that the persons so described are not so far below the general level of their fellows as to be incapable of adjusting their lives thereto, and of playing their part as ordinary members of society: that while children they are able to profit from the education given in ordinary schools, and when they enter the labour market they are able to take ordinary employment, to adapt themselves to changing conditions, and generally to manage their own lives without supervision.

Such of the population of London as may be properly classified as sub-normal or defective fall under several distinct categories, only one of which (the mentally deficient) is dealt with in the present chapter. Not only is there a broad distinction between physical and mental defect, but each of these categories is itself composite. For example, among the physically defective are included the blind, deaf, dumb, crippled or otherwise disabled, those

suffering from temporary sickness or chronic infirmity, and those merely of low stamina and vitality. The relation of physical defect to employability was discussed in the third volume on the basis of the sample enquiries into the condition of the unemployed conducted by the Ministry of Labour.<sup>1</sup> Those enquiries, however, were not of a character to discover or to measure mental deficiency, and neither they nor the House Sample enquiry throw light on the extent to which such deficiency is a factor in employability or in poverty. This is the problem that forms the subject of the present chapter.

It should be noted that the term "mental deficiency" as here used is narrower in its scope than "mental sub-normality" which includes not only inherent mental defect and arrested mental development (i.e. mental deficiency or "amentia" properly so called), but also the cases of persons who become sub-normal through the lapse of time (senile decay), or through mental disease (lunacy or "dementia").<sup>2</sup> "Mental defectives" are usually further subdivided into several grades, e.g. "feeble minded," "imbeciles" and "idiots" according to the intensity and completeness of the defect. There is no hard and fast line between the grades, each of which gradually shades off into the next, but the term "feeble-minded" is useful in order to distinguish the higher grade defectives who can do something towards self-support from the lower grades who are almost entirely supported by relatives or by the community.

Another distinction drawn by experts on mental deficiency is between what is termed "primary" and "secondary" amentia, the former being inherent, and the latter (which is much rarer) due to arrested development through extraneous causes.

Broadly speaking, the present Survey is only concerned with the higher grades, i.e. the feeble-minded,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 160-71.

<sup>2</sup> The term "sub-normal" as used in the report of the Mental Deficiency Committee also included a very much larger group of persons, (say) the lowest tenth of the population, most of whom are below the general level of intelligence though not "defective" according to any standard which is usually applied.

many of whom still mix with and form part of the general population. Those whose infirmity involves a degree of incapacity requiring permanent segregation from society in asylums, hospitals, colonies or other institutions are for practical purposes outside the scope of the inquiry.

## II

*Number of Mental Defectives in London.*—It is not possible to say precisely how many persons in London fall under the above description. There is no automatic test of feeble-mindedness as there is of old age, and different observers differ in the standards they apply to distinguish the feeble-minded from the merely dull or backward on the one hand, or the imbecile on the other. The criteria applied to children and to adults differ substantially: with children of school age the test is primarily inability to profit by an ordinary school; with those above school age it is inability to conduct an independent life without help or supervision. Obviously these criteria do not necessarily give the same result, for there are many persons who would fail in the test for educational capacity, who would nevertheless be capable of living independent lives.<sup>1</sup> But whatever be the test applied, it is evident that there is room for wide variations of standard, for there is no sharp line of demarcation between normality and abnormality.

Notwithstanding these difficulties it is essential to endeavour to obtain some rough idea of the magnitude of the body of persons whose conditions of life we are examining. For this purpose the first possible line of approach is to examine the data compiled by Dr. E. O. Lewis for his very able report to the Mental Deficiency Committee (1929) which was the most complete and exhaustive survey of mental deficiency of different types and grades that has been made in recent times. For a detailed description of the methods and standards employed reference must be made to the report.<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of Mental Deficiency Committee*, Volume III, Part IV, ch. 1 and 2.

need only be said here that they have been generally accepted by the most qualified authorities on the subject. The Mental Deficiency Committee chose six sample areas for investigation: three urban and three rural. Only one of the urban areas falls within that of the present Survey. The final estimate arrived at, after making all adjustments, was that the total number of mental defectives over the whole of England and Wales is in the neighbourhood of 8 per 1,000 of population, but that in urban districts it is considerably lower, the mean for the three urban areas investigated being between 6 and 7 per 1,000.<sup>1</sup>

On the assumption<sup>2</sup> that London follows the average of the urban areas investigated, we should arrive at a total of between 25,000 and 30,000 mental defectives in the County of London, or between 33,000 and 38,000 in the whole Survey Area.

A second line of approach is to build up a figure for the total number of mental defectives in London by direct use of such statistics as those published by the London County Council for mentally defective persons dealt with administratively under various sections of the relevant Acts, with estimated additions in respect of children below school age, and of mentally deficient persons who after leaving school are not placed under supervision. For the materials for such a calculation the Survey is indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Shrubsall, Senior Medical Officer of the London County Council's School Medical Service. The method employed (which avowedly in-

<sup>1</sup> In the urban area included within the New London Survey Area, the rate of mental deficiency ascertained was the lowest of any of the six districts, viz. between 5 and 6 per 1,000 of population. There is reason, however, to believe that this was an under-estimate.

<sup>2</sup> This assumption is *pro tanto* confirmed by a survey made some twelve years ago into the incidence of mental deficiency among London school children. The result was to show that the percentage of children who were mentally defective according to the criterion of the Children's Act was 1.5, of whom about a third were estimated to be capable of managing their practical affairs in after-life. (See *L.C.C. Report on Mental and Scholastic Tests*, pp. 173-4.) These figures are in close agreement with those obtained by Dr. Lewis for feeble-minded school children in three urban areas, viz., 1.51 per cent. (See *Report of Mental Deficiency Committee*, Vol. III, p. 184.)

volves a considerable conjectural element) is set out in Note A on p. 377. The result is a total in the neighbourhood of 30,000 for the County of London.

Taking all available data into consideration, including the undoubted incompleteness of the enumeration of adult defectives, it would appear safest to assume not less than 30,000 mental defectives in the County of London and 38,000 in the whole Survey Area.

### III

#### *Subdivision of London Defectives by Grade, Sex and Age.*

—The above figures include mental defectives of both sexes of all ages and of all grades of deficiency. To subdivide the totals according to sex and grade recourse must be had to the statistics of the urban areas referred to above. The experience of these urban districts, confirmed by a recent analysis of a sample of London cases,<sup>1</sup> suggests that roughly three-quarters of the total (say 28,000 for the whole Survey Area and 22,000 for the County of London) belong to the category of the "feeble-minded," the remaining 10,000 (8,000 for the County) being the lower-grade defectives (i.e. imbeciles or idiots). A large proportion of the latter are segregated in institutions and play no part in the general life and labour of London, though the cost of their maintenance is of course a burden on the community.

The remaining 28,000 "feeble-minded" persons appear to be not far from equally divided between the sexes with a slight preponderance of males. A large number of them are under 16, i.e. not of wage-earning age. These are mostly living at home and attending day schools if of school age. From the age of 7 onwards the majority of them are transferred to "special schools" (also for the most part day schools) as not being capable of profiting by education in the ordinary schools. When the children reach the age of 16 systematic efforts are

<sup>1</sup> See *Annual Report of L.C.C. for 1929*, Volume III, p. 46. The analysis covered 941 cases, of whom 60 were found not to be mentally deficient and 634 feeble-minded, i.e. 72 per cent. of the total of mental defectives of all grades.

made by the London County Council and the Ministry of Labour to place them in suitable employment, and they are kept under supervision through the system of visitation described below (see p. 344).

The total number of feeble-minded persons in the Survey Area over the age of 16 living in private families, and not in institutions, is unlikely to exceed 15,000, including persons of both sexes.

It will therefore be seen that, from the point of view of mere magnitude of numbers, the class of adult feeble-minded persons who are living in private families in the London area is of relatively minor importance. The question, however, of the interconnection between mental deficiency and poverty and the exact nature of their mutual reactions is one of great moment in any study of social and economic conditions.

This is especially the case in view of the widespread belief that mental deficiency is increasing. It will be remembered that this particular aspect of the problem was discussed in Volume I, when the provisional conclusion was reached that the available data "do not appear to justify the belief that during the past generation there has been any increase in the incidence of new cases of mental deficiency in London as distinguished from the effects of longer survival." No further evidence has since come to light which would lead to a modification of this conclusion, but in view of the intricacy of the subject the absence of proof must not be taken as establishing that no increase has in fact taken place.

#### IV

*How is Mental Deficiency related to Poverty in London?*  
—It is self-evident that the earning power of most mental defectives must be abnormally low, though hitherto there has been little statistical evidence as to the extent to which their earnings fall below those of the average member of the working-class. The deficiency of earning power of the feeble-minded adult arises partly from low capacity to learn and to draw the right inferences from what has

been learnt ; partly from instability and want of adaptability to changing conditions, which often makes the defective helpless in the face of any but the simplest repetitive work, unless working under close and constant supervision. Frequently these defects are combined with a slowness of execution which makes it impossible to keep step with other members of a working team, or to keep a footing in a factory in which speed is of importance. Naturally these disabilities become progressively of greater gravity as the defective person grows from a child into an adult. The result is that earning power is unprogressive, and often actually declines instead of expanding. Hence it is not surprising that only a small minority even of the highest grade adult defectives were found by Dr. Lewis to come within measurable distance of being self-supporting.<sup>1</sup> When they continue to live in the general community and have not relatives whose contributions can supplement their deficient earning power, they are bound to be "poor," especially if, as often happens, they marry and have families.

It is not of course to be expected that the low earning power of so small a body of persons can have a perceptible influence on the total volume of poverty in so vast a community as London. Mental deficiency cannot therefore be put alongside of such factors as old age, unemployment or sickness as one of "apparent causes" of poverty in the community. Nevertheless, it is likely on general grounds that the low earning capacity of mental defectives will influence their local distribution, and that we shall find a relative excess of mental defectives among the inhabitants of "poor" streets, i.e. the streets coloured blue or with a blue stripe on the poverty maps. It also seems *a priori* probable that a similar excess will be found among the inhabitants of the degraded streets indicated on the maps by black or a black stripe.

It is therefore of interest to ascertain so far as practicable (1) what is the extent and character of the deficiency of earning power exhibited by the "feeble-minded," and

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 349-350.



(2) what light is thrown by the available data on the social grades of districts and streets inhabited by families with mentally defective members, (3) how far there is any indication of the congregation of mental defectives in the more degraded streets.

## V

*The "Feeble-minded" as Earners.*—As regards the first few years of the industrial life of feeble-minded persons in London there is a wealth of information available in the unpublished records of the London Association for Mental Welfare (now absorbed by the London County Council) which have been placed at the disposal of the Survey by the courtesy of the Council and the Ministry of Labour. One sample selected for special examination consists of the juveniles who at the age of 16 left "special" schools in the spring and summer of 1929. The quarterly reports made to the Ministry of Labour show the initial earnings of those placed in employment by the Association. From this source it appears that the initial wages at which defective boys were placed in situations at the age of 16 ranged from 10s. to £1 a week,<sup>1</sup> the "median" being 16s. The average was raised by the large number of boys placed in glass-making at £1 a week. For those placed in metal trades the "median" was 16s., in clothing trades 14s., in woodwork-ing 12s. For girls of the same age the usual initial rates were somewhat lower, the range (excluding extreme cases) being from 9s. to £1, and the median 14s. In the clothing trades the median was 10s., in laundries 16s. or 17s.

On the whole the initial rates compare not very unfavourably with those obtained by normal boys and girls entering similar industries at the age of 14. The great difference is that in the case of defectives the rates are not progressive and the jobs are seldom kept long.

Of the total number of first situations found in the period investigated more than a quarter were retained for less than a month, and a good number for less than a

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of a very few extreme cases.

week. Only about three out of five continued beyond three months.

It was the practice of the visitors of the London Association for Mental Welfare to visit the homes of these boys and girls about once a quarter, so that over a period of two years records are available of the nature of their employment and wages earned at about eight dates at approximately three-monthly intervals. It is not as a rule possible to say from these records what was the intermediate course of employment between the visits, but a good deal of valuable information can be obtained by tabulating the rates of wages noted as being earned at each date on which a visit was paid. These entries show that (excluding extreme cases) the wages earned by boys ranged from 12*s.* to 24*s.*, with a "median" of 17*s.* The "median" of the rates recorded as received at or about the age of 18 was 20*s.*, or only 4*s.* more than that of the initial rates at age of 16. This is of course a small advance compared with the increases in the wages of normal learners during the same period.

The corresponding rates for girls ranged from 7*s.* to 19*s.*, with a median of 14*s.* The "median" of the final entries at the age of 18 (15*s.*) was only 1*s.* in excess of that of the initial rates at 16 (14*s.*).

The information available as to wage rates is summarised in the table on p. 345.

The records of visits to the boys and girls during the two years after leaving school have been analysed so as to show the number of occasions on which they were found to be at work or out of work, and also the number of different jobs at which they were found to be working at the time of the visits. The analysis is based on the conditions found at each visit, and it does not necessarily follow that these conditions had been continuous over the whole period between the visits. Thus a boy might have changed his jobs several times between successive visits.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In order to simplify the interpretation of the figures the cases discussed only include those in which the full number of eight visits was paid.

WEEKLY WAGE RATES OF MENTALLY DEFECTIVE BOYS AND GIRLS LEAVING SCHOOLS IN THE COUNTY OF LONDON IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1929 AT AGE OF 16.

	Initial Rate at First Job in which placed.	Wage Rates recorded at Visits during 1929-31 by Visitors of the London Association for Mental Welfare.		
		At First Visit.	At Last Visit.	Mean of Rates— all Visits.
	1	2	3	4
<i>Boys:</i>				
Lower Decile <sup>1</sup> . . . .	10	10	15	12
„ Quartile . . . .	12	12	17	15
Median . . . .	16	15	20	17
Upper Quartile . . . .	18	18	21	20
„ Decile . . . .	20	20	25	24
<i>Girls:</i>				
Lower Decile . . . .	9	6	10	7
„ Quartile . . . .	10	10	12	11
Median . . . .	14	12	15	14
Upper Quartile . . . .	17	15	18	17
„ Decile . . . .	20	17	22	19

<sup>1</sup> For definitions of deciles, etc., see p. 70.

Of 74 boys who were visited eight times and for whom data as to employment exist, three were entirely unemployable, 39 were found at work on all eight occasions, 16 on seven and 12 on six. Thus all but 4 of the employable boys were at work at not less than three-quarters of the visits. Of the 71 boys who were not unemployable, 3 had eight different jobs apiece, but the average number of jobs per boy was only two. Of the 55 girls 7 were unemployable: 21 were at work at each time of visit, 12 at seven visits, 6 at six visits. Twelve of the girls had four or more distinct jobs, but the average number of separate jobs was two as in the case of the boys.

For the reasons given above it is probable that the real multiplicity of jobs is minimised in the figures, and if we had a complete and continuous record we should find a much higher degree of discontinuity. As it is, some of the individual records are sufficiently striking, e.g. the boy who was found to be at work at each of the eight visits on eight different jobs of the most diverse character, viz. piano-making, cinema signs, bakers' errands, wireless, french polishing, timber yard, rubbish collection, laundry. Probably he had also been many times in and out of other jobs between successive visits.

The evidence of the two first years of employment of boys and girls from "special schools" shows clear marks of their unprogressive and unstable character, but they are kept under systematic observation, and an organisation is available to help them back into employment after each lapse or failure.

Beyond the age of 18, however, the continuous information available as to the careers and earnings of the feeble-minded is a good deal more scanty than that recorded for the age period 16 to 18, since the industrial supervision and after-care of ex-special school cases ceases at 18 years of age, and close supervision and visitation is only continued after that age in a proportion of cases.<sup>1</sup> By the courtesy of the L.C.C., however, the Survey has been able to obtain details with regard to a certain number of cases of boys and girls who left special schools in or about 1926, and who were visited periodically up to ages of 20 to 23. The statistics of earnings derived from these case papers are necessarily less representative than those based on the visits paid to defectives under the age of 18, partly because the numbers are smaller, partly because there is evidence that the cases in which no wages are quoted in the latter part of the period are often the worst cases, so that those which enter into the final average are probably higher than the average of the whole group. These figures must therefore be regarded as only

<sup>1</sup> I.e. those "subject to be dealt with" under the Mental Deficiency Acts for one of the reasons specified therein.

representative of the earnings of the higher-grade defectives. Of the youths for whom records of wages were obtained the weekly earnings at age 21 or thereabouts had a wide range, but the largest number (14 out of 43) received £1 a week and the median of the whole group was round about 22s.

Putting together the information as to boys and men, and always remembering the slender statistical basis on which part of the information rests, we find that the initial rates at which boys were placed at the age of 16 were in the neighbourhood of 16s.; that two years later those of them who had not fallen entirely out of the labour market earned on the average about £1, and that round about the ages of 20 to 23 their average earnings were in the neighbourhood of 22s.<sup>1</sup>

It is of interest to compare these figures with the minimum wages for normal boys and men working at unskilled occupations which have been laid down by Trade Boards or by Joint Industrial Councils and other agreements. A number of these findings which have been examined show an average of about 19s. at the age of 16, 30s. at 18 and 41s. at 20. Thus at the age of 16 the earnings of mentally defective boys are not far below the "minima" fixed for normal boys of the same age, but by the age of 18 the gap has widened to 10s., and two or three years later it reaches nearly £1. Were it possible to carry on the comparison on the same basis into later age periods there is little doubt that we should find a still wider difference between the earnings of normal and sub-normal persons.

## VI

*Employability of the Feeble-minded Adult.*—In the Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee mentally defective adults were classified in five categories, according to

<sup>1</sup> The information as to earning capacity of girls of corresponding ages has not been tabulated, the records being too much complicated by cessation of earning at marriage, and also by the difficulty of assessing the cash value of board in the case of domestic servants.

their degree of employability. The grades were roughly (1) skilled work, (2) semi-skilled work, (3) unskilled work, (4) simplest (routine) work and (5) unemployable. It is, however, essential to remember that the basis of the classification was "the capabilities of the defective when placed in a colony or institution where he would receive the necessary training and supervision and not what he could do in the general community where he would have less supervision and have to compete with normal persons."<sup>1</sup> This distinction is of vital importance, since one of the chief failings of the defective as an industrial worker is want of adaptability and initiative. Consequently the figures given below must not be interpreted as giving any indication of the proportion of adult defectives who could hold their own in the world of competitive industry in any of the grades of employment. Nevertheless the figures are of interest, and it has been possible to separate out the figures for the feeble-minded in the district which lies within the London Survey Area.

Categories of Work of which capable under Supervision in an Institution	Employability of Feeble-minded Adults living in					
	An Extra Metropolitan Area		3 Urban Areas		3 Urban and 3 Rural Areas	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
1. Skilled	38.7	47.6	34	48.5	38.4	50.6
2. Semi-skilled	43	31.4	45.3	32.3	45.4	33.4
3. Unskilled	14	12.4	16	12.1	11.4	9.6
4. Simplest routine	3.2	4.8	3.1	4.0	3	4.3
5. Unemployable	1.1	3.8	1.6	2.8	1.8	2.1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Considering the inevitable roughness of the classification, the results for the different areas are broadly in agreement, and in the absence of a large-scale investigation throughout London it is fairly safe to conclude that about four

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Mental Deficiency Committee, Part IV, p. 125.*

out of five of the adult "feeble-minded" in London are capable of employment in some kind of skilled or semi-skilled operation, if properly trained and supervised in an institution sheltered from the competition of normal persons. Of the remaining 20 per cent. more than half would, under similar conditions, be capable of unskilled work.

The capacities of the lower grades of mental defectives (imbeciles and idiots) are naturally much lower, and any small offset that their earnings might afford to their cost of maintenance is practically negligible. The results obtained confirm those reached by other investigations in this country and America.

This assessment of what may be termed potential industrial capacity under supervision is of importance in relation to any proposed scheme of colony treatment, but for the purposes of the present Survey more interest attaches to Dr. Lewis's tabulation of the relative extent to which feeble-minded adults, who are living in private families as part of the general community, are actually contributing to their own support. Here again the classification is necessarily very rough, the individuals forming the sample being divided into three classes, viz. "almost self-supporting," "partially self-supporting" and "contributing nothing." The first of these classes included "those who earned about 15s. a week or more and were fairly regularly employed."<sup>1</sup> The earnings limit may seem low in relation to London wages, but of course the term "self-supporting" is used in relation to the minimum physical needs of an individual and not of a family. The majority of those included in the second group ("partially self-supporting") earned only a few shillings a week, and the group included many who at the time of investigation were earning nothing, but were in receipt of outdoor relief, the third group "contributed nothing," being reserved for those who had not for a period of years contributed to their upkeep.

<sup>1</sup> Report, Part IV, p. 127.

The results are as follows:

	An Extra-Metropolitan Area.		3 Urban Areas <sup>1</sup>		3 Urban and 3 Rural Areas. <sup>1</sup>	
	Males	Females	Males.	Females	Males.	Females.
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent.
Nearly self-supporting . .	19	15	19	8	17	7
Partially self-supporting . .	55	46	51	51	55	62
Contributed nothing . .	26	39	30	41	28	31
	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> The figures given differ slightly from those published in the Report, as a small unclassified residue has been proportionately distributed and the percentages rounded off to the nearest unit.

The figures for the men agree closely in the different areas, but those for women show significant differences, which are probably connected with differences in the industrial conditions affecting women's employment.

Broadly speaking, we may conclude that at least a quarter of the men and more than a third of the women are wholly and permanently supported by others, and that less than one in five reaches even the modest standard fixed for the "nearly self-supporting."

It is further to be remembered that no institutional cases are included; if these were added, the percentage of "nearly self-supporting" would probably be considerably reduced.

It is significant that in the extra metropolitan borough (which is the only area for which the home conditions of mental defectives can be directly brought into comparison with the results of the New Survey), it was found that about 20 per cent. of defectives came from "very poor" homes, i.e., as explained in the Report, from homes with the conditions of a slum district.<sup>1</sup> The percentage of the population found by the Street Survey to be in poverty in this borough at the same date was 10.

<sup>1</sup> Report, Part IV, p. 130. The standards applied by the Committee and by the Survey were of course not necessarily identical.



## VII

*Local Distribution of Mental Defectives.*—In order to throw light on the distribution of mental defectives and of the families to which they belong among districts and streets of different social grades, the Table below (p. 352) has been compiled.

In this Table the aggregate number of cases of mental defectives dealt with by the Association for Mental Welfare in the years 1929-30 is classified by groups of boroughs, graded according to the degree of poverty of their working-class population as ascertained by the Survey. The proportion of working-class persons living in overcrowded conditions in each group of boroughs is also shown for purposes of comparison. It should be explained that the comparison has been limited to the working-class element—after eliminating the middle class, in view of the difficulties which would otherwise arise from the fact that the L.C.C. special schools and the operations of the London Association for Mental Welfare are for the most part limited to children of the elementary school class, so that any comparison with total population would be liable to be misleading.

It is further necessary to bear in mind that the great mass of the cases dealt with by the Association were adolescents and young adults, the majority being between 16 and 18 and only a small percentage likely to be the principal bread-winners of households.

It will be seen from the table on p. 352 that there is a close correlation between the proportion borne by mental-defective cases dealt with to the total working-class population of each group of boroughs, and the degree of working-class poverty and overcrowding in that group. Thus in the group of boroughs with a percentage of poverty of 18 and over the proportion of mental deficient cases that came under observation was 36 per 10,000 of population. In those where the percentage of poverty was less than 8, it was only 21 per 10,000. In the three intermediate groups with poverty percentages averaging 9, 12 and 16, it was 24, 25 and 31 respectively.

Percentage of Working-class Poverty in 1929	Boroughs in County of London grouped according to Degree of Poverty of their Working-class Population.			
	Estimated Working-class Population in Private Families in 1929	"M D" Cases dealt with by London Association for Mental Welfare. Average of 1929-30		Average Number of Working-class Persons living 2 or more to a Room per 10,000 of Population (House Sample, 1929-30).
		Total Number	Number per 10,000 of Working-class Population <sup>1</sup>	
Under 8 per cent .	523,900	1,085	21	1,500
8 and under 10 per cent	1,146,800	2,717	24	2,200
10 " 14 "	869,500	2,178	25	3,000
14 " 18 "	495,500	1,520	31	3,600
18 per cent and over .	345,200	1,247	36	3,800
Totals . . . . .	3,380,900	8,767	26	2,700

<sup>1</sup> In private families

The correlation is no less clear between mental deficiency and overcrowding.<sup>1</sup>

## VIII

*Street Distribution of Families with Mentally Defective Children.*—It has also been thought of interest to ascertain the social grades from which are drawn the inmates of the "special schools" maintained by the London County Council for feeble-minded children between the ages of 7 and 16. By the courtesy of the Council we have been able to distribute the addresses of the families to which these children belong, according to the colour of the streets in which they live as shown on the poverty map. The results of this tabulation (so far as concerns the East-

<sup>1</sup> A possible source of error in the comparison is discussed in Note B on p. 378.

ern Survey Area) are given in the Table on p. 354, which makes a double comparison between the number of defective children residing in streets of each colour and (a) the total working-class population living in the same streets, (b) the total number of children of school age in those streets. This double comparison was thought advisable because there is an appreciable difference between the percentage of school children to population in different grades of streets.<sup>1</sup>

It has been considered that the eastern sector of the county is sufficiently large and presents a sufficient variety of economic conditions to make it unnecessary to incur the labour of extending the analysis to the western sector.

It will be seen that both comparisons, i.e. with school children and working population, yield very similar results, and show a close correlation between the mental deficiency of children and the "colour" of the streets in which they live.

For the whole of the eastern sector the proportion per 10,000 children varies from 96 in the "blue" or "blue striped" streets to 62 in the "purple" streets and 38 in "pink" streets. The correlation is equally striking for the inner and outer rings of boroughs taken separately.

The concentration of mentally defective children in the poorest districts had been noticed as early as 1893, when the London County Council published a map showing the proportions of children scheduled as defective in the various educational administrative areas. The conclusion arrived at was that "the maximum proportion was found in the poorer districts occupied by the older English population displaced by the clearance of a large area in Bethnal Green." It was also noted as a mark of poverty or neglect that in the special schools

<sup>1</sup> The age period of children in "special schools" (7 to 16) differs somewhat from that of children in ordinary schools (3 or 5 to 14). This difference does not, however, invalidate the comparisons in the text, though it qualifies any inference as to the actual proportion of school children who are "M.D."

there is a large proportion with defective or unclean clothing.<sup>1</sup>

For the reason already given, the comparison is confined to working-class streets. The results are shown in the following table :

	Inner Ring of Boroughs	Outer Ring of Boroughs	Total Eastern Sector
I. Number of "M D" children per 10,000 working class children of school age, living in streets coloured			
Blue or striped with blue	100	93	96
Purple	70	55	62
Pink	37	38	38
Total in streets of above colours	65	52	58
II Number of "M D" children per 10,000 working-class persons living in streets coloured			
Blue or striped with blue	24	22	24
Purple	17	12	14
Pink	8	8	8
Total in streets of above colours	15	11	13

The results shown in this table, in the table on p. 352 and in the L.C.C. Report cannot be explained by the low earning-power of the mental defectives themselves. The above table is entirely concerned with school children who are not yet in the labour market, and whose earning capacities cannot therefore have determined the choice of their parents' residence. The table on p. 352, though concerned with those who have begun to earn, is to a very large extent limited to adolescents, only a small proportion of the cases included being adults over the age of 20, and a still smaller proportion being the principal breadwinners of families.

Yet both tables show clearly that there is a high degree of correlation between the percentage of defective chil-

<sup>1</sup> L.C.C. Report for 1913, Vol III, p. 209. It is understood that though cleanliness has greatly improved since 1913, "special school" children are still below the level of the others in this respect.

dren and juveniles and the poverty of the streets in which their parents live. The inference seems to be suggested that the mental deficiency of the juveniles is causally connected, either with the poverty of their parents, or with some other factor with which that poverty is closely correlated. The next problem is to determine which of these alternatives is the true explanation.

## IX

*Mental Deficiency and Heredity.*—The records analysed disclose a considerable proportion of feeble-minded cases in which one or more members of the family in addition to the boy or girl visited were mentally deficient. Of the total of 144 families for which continuous records are available, 41, or well over a quarter, are said to have included at least one other defective member.<sup>1</sup> When the common reluctance to disclose a family record of mental deficiency is taken into account it is clear that the above figure must be regarded as a minimum, and if the whole truth were known the proportion would probably be higher.

Some of the records show striking examples of family deficiency. In one the father had been in an asylum, four out of eight children were defective, and one other had fits. In another family three brothers were defective besides a blind defective child who had died. The mother (who was herself normal) had a sister and two half-brothers defective. The father was said to be intemperate.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples, as no competent observer doubts that mental deficiency runs in families. It is, however, of great importance to emphasise the fact

<sup>1</sup> This proportion is not directly comparable with the percentage resulting from Dr. Shrubbsall's examination of 874 feeble-minded cases in London (see L.C.C. Report for 1929, Volume III, p. 47), since that percentage (11·7) referred solely to the cases in which a brother or sister was defective. An inquiry by the L.C.C. (published in 1913) into the records of 1,000 families containing at least one defective showed that nearly half these families included at least one other mentally defective or unstable member, and over a quarter included more than one other member so afflicted (Annual Report, 1913, Vol. III, p. 209).

which is too often forgotten that while mental dullness, of which mental deficiency is an extreme form, is hereditary, the defect so inherited may or may not be sufficiently accentuated to be certified as "M.D." Thus it often happens that mental deficiency does not appear in two successive generations. Of the cases of mentally deficient children analysed for the purpose of this Survey only a small proportion had mentally defective fathers or mothers. Conversely such scanty evidence as is available suggests that only a minority of the children of mental defectives are themselves deficient. Dr. Fairfield has recently analysed 58 cases of female mentally defective delinquents from London police courts and prisons who had altogether 26 children living at the time of the arrest. Of these children not more than five (and possibly only three) were themselves mentally deficient.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that the present statistical investigation cannot of itself clear up the question how far the poor environment in which children are born and brought up is an effective cause of mental deficiency, apart from hereditary transmission. In this matter, however, we can fall back on the conclusions of the Mental Deficiency Committee as set out in their chapter on "Mental Deficiency as a Genetic and Social Problem."<sup>2</sup>

The Committee drew a clear distinction between "primary" and "secondary" amentia, the first type being due to "an inherent incapacity for mental development" and the second to "the arrest of such development by extraneous causes."<sup>3</sup>

"Primary amentia," which is capable of transmission by heredity, is much the more common form. The parents themselves, however, are not necessarily or most frequently mentally deficient, though they belong to a

<sup>1</sup> *Women Mental Defectives and Crime*, by Dr. Letitia Fairfield (1931). An investigation on a much larger scale and not confined to delinquents is now being conducted for a Departmental Committee, but its results are not at present available. A difficulty arises from the fact that a different standard may be applied to the parents and the children (see above, p. 338).

<sup>2</sup> Report, Part III, Chapter V, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

preponderating extent to what the Committee term the "subnormal group." "Secondary amentia" may be caused by a number of extraneous "environmental" conditions, both "ante-natal," "natal" and "post-natal"; including not only such factors as alcoholism or venereal disease, but abnormal and unhealthy state of the pregnant mother, "serious illness, injuries, or it has even been suggested, malnutrition of the child during infancy."<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that many of these environmental conditions are found to excess in "slums" and very poor and degraded streets.

In view of the small proportion borne by "secondary" amentia to the whole volume of mental deficiency, it seems impossible that the close relation between juvenile mental deficiency and the poverty of the streets where the family live could be wholly or mainly accounted for by the operation of environmental factors. If, however, we accept the view of scientific observers, that the most prevalent form of mental deficiency is capable of hereditary transmission, the results obtained by our statistical analysis are readily explained.

For clearly the low earning power of adult mental deficients must, unless adequate support is forthcoming from relatives, charity or public funds, cause them to gravitate towards the lowest economic stratum of the population, and therefore to the poorest streets, which are therefore likely to contain a disproportionate number of mental deficients, as well as of those who are described by the Committee as "subnormal" without being themselves "M.D.s."

## X

*Mental Deficiency and Degraded Streets.*—An effort has been made to ascertain the relation between mental deficiency and the conditions of degradation, vice and crime which are represented by black or by a black line on certain streets in the Poverty Maps; a point on which the preceding tables throw no direct light.

<sup>1</sup> P. 85.

For this purpose the number of children attending "special schools" whose family addresses are in streets coloured black or with a black line has been compared with the total number of children of school age in those streets and the results compared with those for other streets of various grades. The results for the Eastern Sector of the County (the only area for which the tabulation has been made) are as follows:

	Number of Children in M D Schools.	Number of Children of School Age	Number in Special Schools per 10,000 Children of School Age.
(i) Streets coloured black or with black stripe . . . . .	149	17,636	109
(ii) Streets without a black stripe			
Blue or purple with blue stripe	344	37,614	91 <sup>1</sup>
Purple . . . . .	623	101,580	61 <sup>1</sup>
Pink . . . . .	442	117,308	38 <sup>1</sup>
Total of (ii). . . . .	1,409	256,502	55 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These figures differ slightly from those in the Table on p. 354, owing to the exclusion of streets with black lines.

The Table shows a clear excess of mental deficiency in degraded streets as compared with streets that are merely "poor." The comparatively small number of cases makes it unsafe to give similar particulars for individual boroughs.

Interbreeding between parents, both of whom are sub-normal, is universally recognised as increasing the probability that the offspring will be defective.

Reference was made in Volume III<sup>1</sup> to the tendency towards interbreeding in poor areas which are more or less completely cut off from the adjoining neighbourhood by physical barriers such as railways, canals, rivers, gas-works and the like. An attempt has therefore been made to allocate the cases of feeble-minded children which occur in poor (i.e. "blue" or blue striped) streets as between such "enclosed" areas and other poor streets.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 133.



In view of the labour involved the experiment was limited to Charles Booth's East London. The following is a summary of the result:

	Total Number of Children of School Age	Total Number of M D Children in Sample	Number of M D Children per 10,000 of School Age
Poor streets in "enclosed areas"	8,580	160	186
Other poor streets	4,311	72	167

It will be seen that there is a slight excess of mental deficiency among the children in poor streets in "enclosed" areas as compared with other poor streets, but the excess is not sufficient to be regarded as significant, in view of the comparatively small numbers of children dealt with in the tables and the possibility that the two groups of poor streets compared may differ in other respects. The result is therefore inconclusive.

Slums, however, are not in all cases, probably not in the majority of cases, separated from their surroundings by actual barriers, and the isolation of slum life, which encourages interbreeding and intensifies any tendencies towards mental deficiency, may arise from racial, "cultural" or other causes as well as from physical obstruction. However it may be caused, the more or less self-contained community of the poor and degraded which often constitutes the slum is undoubtedly a favourable breeding ground of "mental deficiency," and a policy of dispersion of these foci of infection which is called for on other and more general grounds, should incidentally help in abating this evil.

## XI

*Mental Deficiency and Crime.*—Though there is a relative excess of mental defectives in the most degraded streets, there is little precise information available as to the relation of mental defect to crime. Many of the feeble-minded are well behaved, but some are subject to fits of temper and sullenness, and in almost all of them

there is a weakness of will power which makes it difficult for them to exercise self-control or to resist temptation from outside. There is evidence that experienced criminals occasionally use the feeble-minded as their tools because of the ease with which they can be persuaded, but this is believed to be uncommon as any advantage may be more than outweighed by the clumsiness with which their agents perform their part and the resulting greater chance of detection.<sup>1</sup> Expert observers consider that a large proportion of the apparent wrongdoings of the feeble-minded result less from evil intent than from imperfect understanding of the nature of the act.

Dr. Grace W. Pailthorpe has recently examined a "random" sample of 100 cases of female criminals in Holloway Prison, with the result that she estimates 15 per cent. to be mentally defective and another 21 per cent. "mentally subnormal" without being defective in the legal sense.<sup>2</sup>

In the pamphlet already referred to, Dr. Norwood East has published an analysis of 125 cases of male mental defectives in Brixton Prison, which shows that their age distribution was very low, no less than 57 being under the age of 21, 38 between 21 and 25, and 18 between 26 and 30, only 12 being over the age of 31.<sup>3</sup> An analysis of the nature of the crimes committed brings out "the preponderating number of vagrants and cases of uncontrolled acquisitive and sex instincts." Vagrancy accounted for no less than 34 cases; stealing, embezzlement, etc., 35; and sexual offences 32. With reference to the high proportion of vagrancy cases, Dr. East observes that some defectives "leave prison with reluctance, appreciating their temporary immunity from the buffeting of the world."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Fairfield's analysis of 58 female defective delin-

<sup>1</sup> *Some Reflections of a Prison Medical Officer on Criminal Defectives*, by Dr. Norwood East, M.D., Senior Medical Officer Brixton, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in the Psychology of Delinquency* (Medical Research Council), 1932 (H.M. Stationery Office), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Reflections of a Prison Medical Officer on Criminal Defectives*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

quents showed an almost identical proportion of vagrancy offences, viz. 30 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in a table published by the L.C.C. in the year 1922 comparing the kind of offences committed by defective and normal children, the percentage of offences described as "wandering, begging and truancy" was 32 for the defective group and only 15 for the normal group.<sup>2</sup>

These figures of "M.D.s" convicted of vagrancy confirm the statement in the chapter on "The Homeless Poor" in Volume III of this Survey as to the high proportion of mental defectives in casual wards.<sup>3</sup>

## XII

### *What sort of lives do the feeble-minded live?*

Some light is thrown on this question by the records of cases visited by the agents of the London Association for Mental Welfare, of which a few illustrative examples are printed on pp. 364-76. These, however, only relate to defectives living at home during the first few years after leaving a "special school." Of the large section of feeble-minded adults (perhaps a third of the whole number in London) who are living in institutions and colonies, all that can be said is that, according to the best observers, the majority are leading happy and contented lives, with their time well occupied with tasks and pursuits within their capacity, and free from the "constant feeling of inferiority, the knowledge that they will be the first to lose their job if employment gets slack"<sup>4</sup> which haunts the mental defective in the outside world. An excellent description of the organisation and life of a modern well-equipped institution for the feeble-minded is given in the Report<sup>5</sup> from which the above quotation is taken, and though the institution described is not in London, it is believed that its main features are largely

<sup>1</sup> Fairfield (*loc. cit.*), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> L.C.C. Annual Report for 1921, Volume III, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> P. 272.

<sup>4</sup> Mental Deficiency Committee Report, Part III, p. 22. See also footnote <sup>2</sup> to p. 339.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-5.

applicable to the type of institution provided by the London County Council.

As regards the majority of the "feeble-minded" adults who live in private families, the records show that some rise out of the category, and lead useful and self-supporting lives. This is not to say that inherent mental deficiency is curable, but that an appreciable number of boys and girls who were regarded as defective when judged by educational standards nevertheless prove capable of social adaptation in after-life.

The Mental Deficiency Committee estimated that no less than a third of the children placed in "special schools" would on leaving these schools be above the standard of mental deficiency.<sup>1</sup> Even among the lower grades of children, who were rejected by the London "special schools" as being ineducable, a very few have been found who were eventually able to hold their own in the labour market.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that some of those who are defective, not merely by educational standards, are capable of being "stabilised" by the good influence of school or institution.

Those who thus succeed in making good are, however, only a minority of the whole. A larger number, after repeated failures to keep their footing in the competitive world, are eventually transferred to institutions. There is no question that if the necessary accommodation were available, and the prejudice against "putting away" the feeble-minded member of a family could be overcome, it would be to the great advantage both of the defectives and of society in general that a good many more of those still struggling against hopeless handicaps in their present environment could be placed in institutions where they would find "care suited to their needs and employment regulated according to their ability."<sup>3</sup>

It would be going much too far to say that all mental defectives living in poor families lead unhappy lives.

<sup>1</sup> Report, Part II, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> L.C.C. Annual Report for 1929, Volume III, pp. 47-8.

<sup>3</sup> Report, Part III, p. 22.

Family affections are frequently strong in such cases, and such shelter from the "buffeting of the world" as it is possible to afford them is often willingly and lovingly given. Nevertheless an examination of the records of cases of feeble-minded juveniles shows clearly the fear and aversion caused by the teasing and bullying which they meet in the factory or street from companions whom they are conscious of not having the wit to meet on even terms.<sup>1</sup> A perpetual sense of inferiority, though perhaps fortunately blunted by their dullness of perception, is nevertheless a source of misery, and frequently leads to wrongdoing if only to recover a sense of equality.

Those who are fortunate enough to be employed have usually to accept the lowest-paid jobs and often to work the longest hours. The higher-grade defectives (and still more their parents) compare their status and earnings with those of their normal companions, with the result of deepening their discouragement and sense of inferiority. On the other hand, there is no sufficient reason to think that their labour, even at the low wages earned, is profitable to the employers for whom they work, or that the low level of their earnings can rightly be regarded as evidence of "sweating," or has any appreciable repercussion on the standard of earnings of normal workers. Looked on simply as an item in the cost of production, the labour of most defectives is probably dear rather than cheap, except on a few simple routine jobs.

The notes on individual cases which are printed on pp. 364 to 376 are an illustrative selection drawn from the "dossiers" of feeble-minded persons whom it has been possible to trace, usually for a period of about five years after leaving "special schools." For the analysis of the "dossiers" of these cases the Survey is indebted to Miss J. M. Scott. The cases printed are to be regarded as illustrations, rather than as a "random sample" in the statistical sense. They have been chosen from among those cases in which the information is most complete and interesting, but there has been no attempt to make the

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, cases 6 and 9 on pp. 369 and 372.

sample a microcosm of the whole. For example, it certainly contains a higher proportion of cases in which more than one member of the same family is known to be mentally deficient, partly because of the interest of this information when given, partly because the most complete records give this information most fully.

The records are not capable of being further condensed and summarised without losing their personal interest, and they must be left to tell their own tale.

In conclusion, the warmest thanks are due for the valuable assistance given by the Chief Officer and members of the staff of the Mental Hospitals Department of the London County Council, and also for the many very helpful suggestions and criticisms received from a number of experts in mental deficiency, notably Professor Cyril Burt, Dr. E. O. Lewis, Dr. Lionel Penrose, and Dr. F. C. Shrubbsall.

## ANNEX 1

### SPECIMEN RECORDS OF BOYS AND GIRLS WHO HAVE LEFT "SPECIAL SCHOOLS" FOR MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

(Summarised from the records of Visitors of the London Association for Mental Welfare. See p. 361)

#### 1. THE C. FAMILY (three cases) HAMPSTEAD.

##### *Home conditions.*

Mr. C., a railway labourer, elderly and incapable of work, d. 1929. Mother delicate, does occasional charring. Seven children: three attended Special (M.D.) Schools, viz. girl B. (b. 1908), boy H. (b. 1909) and boy S. (b. 1910). Three elder girls away from home and one boy at ordinary elementary school. Rent 16s. 2d. for five rooms. Whole family thought to be neurotic, and there were reports of frequent quarrels.

(1) The girl B. was a twin, the other died in infancy. Her mother thought her "nervous" and said that the air-raids made her worse. She was said to be good at house-work, and her mother wanted her to get a place where there was an older servant. She left school Christmas, 1923.

*School report.*

This girl seems inert and has a passive, negative character. Reading standard II, writing, can do fair composition. Arithmetic standard I: has been trained at needlework, knitting and fancy work with poor results.

*After-school career.*

The girl obtained a place as domestic servant and was there for several months, but her mistress called several times to say that she was incurably slow. In July, 1925, her employers were in a better position and she worked as nursemaid only. She was there till nearly Christmas, 1925, but was then ill with rheumatism and left. In January, 1926, she was seen, looking very small and nervous. She had obtained a daily place, mornings only, at 7s. a week. She left because the wages were not enough and the people would not give her a reference, and at the end of March, 1926, took a place in a restaurant kitchen, wages 12s. and food. She was then stronger and more sensible. In October she was out of work, but started under an old mistress of her mother's. In December, however, she had left again, as her mistress said she was not strong enough. She found a place for herself with Jews, but had to do a lot of polishing. Wages 9s. 6d., without meals. In April, 1927, she had another place (daily), but it seemed doubtful if she could keep it. She got on better, however, as it was a small flat with two people only. She got her dinner and 7s. a week. In February, 1928, the mother said that B. had not had any work for a long time.

In January, 1929, she had been working for some time at a restaurant, under a girl who had been at the same school as herself, and was getting on well, washing up and helping with the sewing. In January, 1931, she was still there. The work was light but she got no food. Wages 15s. a week.

(2) The boy H. (b. 1909) was at a special school until 1925. He was good at school, but said to be excitable and violent at home. He reached standard I for reading and writing, standard II for calculation, and at manual work he worked steadily but did not make progress. He was considered fit for unskilled labouring only.

This boy was said to have had a fall as a child, and hurt his head. In July, 1925, he started at a motor repair depot. He was put into the pram repair department and kept this work till January, 1927, when the firm closed down. Wages 13s. per week. He left with a good character, as a steady, industrious worker, but at home he lost his temper and his mother complained that he struck both parents. He remained at home until May, when he got a similar job, but he was found unsuitable. He was sent to a dairy company, but left after a week without giving any reason. In June, 1927, he got a job as porter at a boot shop at 14s. a week. In January, 1929, he was still there, earning 18s. and in April,

1930, he had another job as porter, getting 25s. a week. He was still there in October, 1932.

(3) Boy S. (b. 1910).

*School report.*

Attendance regular and punctual. Trained in wood and boot work. Suitable for light unskilled work. Conduct excellent. Simple over three R's about standard I. Manual work fair, and he grasps things very slowly. He is a nice, steady boy, with a pleasing appearance.

*After-school career.*

In November, 1926, boy started at a hosier's as shop-boy. Hours 9 a.m. to 7 p.m., wages 12s. 6d. per week. Boy disliked it and would like to learn a trade but mother made him go, as the elder boy was not yet settled. Stayed in place and gave satisfaction until middle of 1928, but no prospects after reaching 18. Left and started at a motor accessories works, but was dismissed on reaching age of 18 (October 27). At beginning of 1929 started with a greengrocer, taking barrow for 13s. 6d. a week, from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. Father unable to work now and mother out in mornings. In April, 1930, he was back with hosier, cleaning shop, errands, etc. Wage 16s. rising to 17s. 6d. In October, 1932 (when last visited), was out of work, the firm having gone bankrupt.

## BOYS

### 2. WESTMINSTER. b. 1910

*School attendance.* Irregular, 57 absences in 11 weeks.

*Character.*

Good, but fitful and uninterested. Very little ability for reading and writing, but reached standard III in calculation. He was steady at manual work. Health poor. Recommended for bootmaking.

*Family history.*

Father a Borough road-sweeper. Mother very delicate and feckless. He had one brother and two sisters.

*After-school career.*

On leaving school he was employed at metal work for a fortnight. In August he was selling newspapers, and in November doing errands at a fish-shop. In December, 1926, he had obtained work as a lift-boy at an hotel, getting £1 a week and food. He remained there till July, 1927, when he was given notice for leaving before his time.

In November he was taken on again by the same hotel and stayed till August, 1928, when he was again dismissed. He was employed at a draper's for about five weeks and then had an attack of rheumatism. In



February, 1928, he applied for a job with a tricycle for a firm of grocers and provision dealers. He had another illness (abscess in groin) and was out of work for some months, but in February, 1930, he was engaged as an ice-cream seller by a firm and sent to Amersham, getting 22s. a week and 2s. in the £ as commission. At first he made very little, but in May he was taking £4 and £5 on Saturdays and Sundays. He lost the work in the winter but not for long and was taken on again in 1931 and was sent to Devonshire. He came back to London and was employed there, but gave it up in June (reason unknown). In September, 1931, he was a porter at a London hotel, getting 25s. and food. He remained till August, 1932, when he was again out of work and went to the Employment Exchange.

3. ISLINGTON. b. 1911.

*Family.*

Jewish. Father died in 1925; mother (who did not seem capable) in 1927. Number of family uncertain, but six known as under:

- (1) Son Married. Has a son in a certified institution.
- (2) Daughter Married.
- (3) " Married.
- (4) Son J. (b. 1907) Attended M.D. School.
- (5) " A. (boy visited) Attended M.D. School.
- (6) Daughter Normal.

*School report.*

Reported by the head teacher of the latter to have been "not a bad boy" in school but mischievous and "up to larks" and to "require a good deal of heavy work to tire him out and to keep him out of mischief."

*After-school career.*

- |       |        |  |
|-------|--------|--|
| 1926  | August | Left school. Placed at wire works.   |
|       | Sept.  | Lost work. Placed at a glass-blower's.   |
| 1927  | Feb.   | Left above: found work too hard.   |
|       | May.   | After several failures, placed with metal firm (15s.).   |
|       | Aug.   | Out of work. Had worked for a dairy (30s.), but left without giving notice. No regular job after this. |
|       | Oct.   | Turned out by sister-in-law because he was lazy and told lies. Went to live with married sister.       |
|       | Dec.   | Case brought to notice of Mental Hospitals Department, and boy certified feeble-minded.                |
| 1928  | March  | Became violent and threatened relatives with knife. Went to another sister.                            |
|       | Dec.   | Left home and was lost sight of.   |
| 1929. | Oct.   | Charged with stealing, and sent to certified institution, where he remains (1933).                     |

## 4. ISLINGTON. b. 1910

*Family.*

Father a labourer. Poor type. Very bad health; constantly unfit for work. Mother at home. Not at all capable. Appears to be of poor mentality. Five children all under normal size:

Daughter Married.

Daughter

Son R. (boy visited).

Daughter Certified feeble-minded and under supervision.

Son Attended an elementary school, but looks defective, and cannot keep work.

The N.S.P.C.C. inspector reported in 1924 and subsequently that the children were neglected and dirty, and the mother mentally weak. The Society did not prosecute, as the neglect was considered to be due to the mother's defect, and therefore incurable. The family are always on the verge of destitution.

*School report.*

Reported by the head teacher to be of poor physique and low vitality, but quite satisfactory conduct. His reading was up to standard III, and he was said to read for pleasure.

*After-school career.*

He failed to obtain employment, and appeared so underfed and neglected that in May, 1927, his case was brought to the notice of the Mental Hospitals Department, and he was certified feeble-minded, and placed under supervision. The parents refused their consent to institutional care, and in March, 1928, he found work with a coal-man. Although this work was uncertain, he kept it, with intervals, until 1930, at slack times helping a street seller, and also trading in toffee apples on his own account. He said that he could earn 16s. weekly by the latter. Towards the end of 1930 he found work with a furniture firm, which he still retains, and he now earns £1. In April, 1932, he left home, and took lodgings with a woman whose son also attended a special (M.D.) school. He said that he left because his mother pawned his things, and he could not bear home any longer. He now appears happier and better cared for.

## 5. FINSBURY. b. 1914

*School report.*

This boy was trained in wood and metal work and was good. He was below average in mental attainments. His behaviour was good on the whole and he was steady and reliable. Needed supervision in the playground.

*Home conditions.*

These were poor, but satisfactory. The father was a foreigner, and the mother died before 1922. The eldest child, b. 1908, was certified imbecile and is in an institution. Brother (also mentally defective) died of t.b. in 1931. The father and boy occupied one room at a rent of 4s. 6d. in 1933.

*After-school career.*

The boy was at first employed (November, 1930) helping the woman who looked after the family at her stall. In June, 1931, he was still working for this woman and another in a street market. The latter gave him 15s. per week. The boy kept this work and was still doing it for the same money, when last visited (January, 1933). Both he and his father helped the stallholders in E. Street. The father had had a stroke about six months previously.

6. STEPNEY. b. 1910

*School report.*

The boy attended regularly and was reliable and steady. His woodwork and carving was good. Reading and writing easy words only, and could do the easier money rules. Speech quiet and normal.

*Home conditions.*

Father a dock labourer. They rent a house of six rooms and sub-let two. Rent stands at 8s. 7d. R. is the eldest of four children; two of whom, a boy and a girl, are at M.D. Schools. The home is clean and tidy, and nothing is known to account for defect. The mother seems a respectable woman.

*After-school career.*

R. wanted some sort of woodwork and was not placed till September 14, when he started at draper's fixture boxes as a learner at 12s. a week. He only stayed three weeks (but was raised to 14s.); dismissed owing to slackness. On November 1 he was placed as an improver at a dining-table manufacturer's, earning 15s. weekly.

He was very happy here, but lost his job in a fortnight owing to slackness. (Probably he was too slow.) Several attempts were made to place him unsuccessfully.

On February 7, 1927, he started at glass works, labouring in the yard at 18s. a week. He left this job in April as the men teased him, but returned after two months as he could not get anything else. In January, 1928, he was getting £1 a week. He kept this job till October, 1928, although he was always wanting a change, but then went to the Employment Exchange, and in January, 1930, was working at battery works, with a standing wage of 25s. In June he was out of work owing to

slackness, but in July was taken back on piece rates. In April, 1931, he was still there earning a good wage.

#### 7. BETHNAL GREEN. b. 1910

##### *School report.*

W.'s conduct and manual work were very good, but he was limited mentally. He was an excellent boot-worker, but the head master considered that he was handicapped by his home.

##### *Home conditions.*

The mother died in 1920. There were two older children, now married. The father was a builder's labourer, and the boy did the housekeeping. They had two rooms but let one at 6s. and their rent stood at 3s. 1d. The father earned about £2 a week, but the boy appeared very poorly clad and under-nourished, though the father appeared devoted to him and said that he could put him into the building trade when he left school.

##### *After-school career.*

W. started with his father but had to leave through slackness. He was seen in December but was not doing anything and a very dirty young woman appeared to be keeping house for them. In September, 1927, he was still out of work, though he said he went to the Employment Exchange. In March, 1928, the school reported that he had night work on the railway, but apparently this was only temporary. His father, seen in November, said that he had only three weeks' work since leaving school, but he hoped that he would soon find work for him in building.

In September, 1930, a neighbour reported that he had left home and was doing paper-sorting, but W. was seen at the same address in November, and was still doing odd jobs. He was still living with his father in January, 1932, and doing practically nothing.

This boy was a disappointment to the school. He had been very good at sports, a bowler at cricket, a right half-back at football and a champion swimmer. His speech was defective and he was very ashamed of having been at a Special School, and apparently this kept him from joining a club on leaving. He was visited by the club Secretary from Toynbee Hall and was recommended to the clergy of the parish, but apparently nothing could be done for him, as he would not help himself.

#### 8. DEPTFORD. b. 1910

This lad was the tenth child of a family of eleven, he is said to have been normal at birth but at the age of 18 months he had a fall and injured his head. He is said to have had one fit, and to have heart trouble and neurasthenia.

His school report states that he was lazy and that his attainments in the "three R's" were very poor.

At home the lad could work in the house and shop, but would only do so when he felt inclined; he would not get up in the morning or wash and dress at times, but was well able to look after himself.

In September, 1929, he was admitted to a farm colony and stayed nearly a year and very much benefited by the training. He was rather less difficult at home and helped with the rough housework.

In October, 1930, the father placed him with a friend who kept an hotel; he acted as odd man and rode to and from his work on a bicycle. He earned 10s. per week and most of his food. He kept this work for nearly a year, and his parents were very pleased as he had never earned before. The hotel changed hands, the lad stayed a few weeks longer, then developed "housemaid's knee" and about the same time he was knocked off his bicycle by a motor-car. His health was not fully recovered till January, 1932.

The lad is still difficult and lazy at times but gives good help at home when inclined. He will only work when he likes and for people he likes. It has not been possible to place him in regular work, but the parents are satisfied to keep him at home.

#### 9. LEWISHAM. b. 1913

##### *School report.*

School attendance good. This boy was trained in boot-making but his manual work is very poor. He is only suited for routine labour.

His conduct is excellent, when well-employed, but he is unreliable, with no initiative and very little adaptability. In temper and moral sense he is normal, but is only fairly clean in his habits.

He has a fair memory. His reading is hesitating but fairly good, and he can write three- and four-letter words in dictation. He is accurate over small money calculations but poor in the four rules. Composition good. He is often unfitted for school work by having done an early milk round.

##### *Home conditions.*

The father is a general dealer and gives about 25s. a week, and mother earns 12s. at daily domestic work. Two brothers (both mentally defective and educated at the same school) give 12s. each. A sister, away from home, sends 20s. per month. There are two children still at school. This family occupies a five-roomed house at a rent of 15s. 9d. per week. Three children have died (one a blind defective). The father is said to be intemperate and the mother has a sister and two half-brothers who are defective. The house is clean and comfortable but generally untidy.

*After-school career.*

On leaving school the boy was employed at bottling, and earned 30s. per week. He remained there till the following March, was then out of work, but found employment at a slate-works. He could not manage the work and had tried several places, without success. He refused work at a glass-works, and became an anxiety to his mother as he started going with bad company and would not look for work. Local lads pestered him, and the two elder boys had to speak to them. He was a strong lad but did not realise his strength.

At the end of June, 1930, he started work for a dairy firm and was temporarily employed until September. He was then discharged, but re-engaged in January, 1931, at a wage of 27s. 6d. per week. In March he was still there and was buying himself a piano. He was still there in September, 1932, earning 30s. and was thinking of getting married, though his mother was trying to prevent this.

## GIRLS

## 10. ISLINGTON. b. 1913

*Family history.*

Illegitimate daughter of a coster. Mother admitted to an asylum in 1916 and stayed there until following year, when she returned and subsequently married a messenger (M.). Mother died in 1926, leaving girl and boy to care of M. At the time when girl left school she was found to be living in the same room as M. and her brother, but M., although not of irreproachable reputation, was said to be kind to the children.

*School report.*

Girl attended a Special (M.D.) School until summer, 1929. She was reported from school to be satisfactory in conduct and as a rule in attendance, and to keep herself clean. She read standard II fluently, printed a fairly good style, calculation quite good, and domestic subjects very good. She was said to be quite adaptable, to have a good memory, and to be less shy than at one time. Her appearance was good. She was placed under Statutory Supervision in September, 1929.

*After-school career.*

She was then found to be living with a married step-sister, Mrs. H., in a very poor and degraded street in Islington. She shared a room with Mr. and Mrs. H., and part of it was curtained off for her. She obtained work for a battery company, earning about 16s., but did not like it and did not stay long. The sister reported her as being quiet and capable in the house, but could be very obstinate. Early in 1930 E. stayed with an aunt, who turned her out. She then found shelter in lodgings, but as she was continuously unemployed save for a short

period in a sweet factory, where she received an unsatisfactory report, she was again turned out. She then shared a bed and room with a woman to whom she paid 11s. out of the 15s. she was earning in a jam factory. At this time the step-sister, Mrs. H., became worried about her, and requested institutional care. In August, 1930, she returned to live with Mrs. H., H. having been sent to prison for nine months. She left the jam factory, and worked for short spells at an artificial-flower factory and a "Turkish delight" factory, paying Mrs. H. 10s. out of her earnings. When she again became unemployed, the step-sister turned her out.

A vacancy was obtained for her in an institution where she was placed in February, 1931.

# 11. ST. PANCRAS. b. 1910

## *School report.*

Attendance regular. Girl trained in needlework and recommended for that work. Conduct good, quiet and well-behaved. Mental attainments up to standard II, and very good results in manual work. A reliable girl.

## *Home conditions.*

This girl and her sister are the illegitimate children of a woman now married and in Canada. They are looked after by their grandmother and they are well-cared for. Girl is small, keen, wiry and answers intelligently and her needlework is very good. She is anxious to learn dressmaking.

## *After-school career.*

In July, 1926, started at a dressmaker's in Regent Street, but was dismissed after one day, and could not say why, except that she had knocked over an electric iron. It was found afterwards that she was too slow for the rush-work. After short spells of daily housework and taking out a child she went to another dressmaker and was engaged for three months at 10s. a week, to learn the trade, but was dismissed after one month as unsuitable, too slow. She then (December, 1926) started at a mica works at a wage of 14s. The work suited her better as she did not have to sit still for so long. In May, 1927, she was dismissed for slackness. Did daily work for two weeks; then started sewing telephone wires together for 4d. an hour. Kept this place sometimes on full time, sometimes part time, for 18 months. The foreman said that she was not very quick, but was a good steady worker.

At the end of 1928 the mother returned from Canada, and quarrelled with the grandmother over the care of the children. It was arranged that the younger child should go back to Canada, but the Guardians would not pay A.'s fare on account of her mental backwardness.

In March, 1929, A. found a place in domestic service for herself in

the hope that she could get to Canada later. After working as kitchen-maid in the country for a time, she got a post as housemaid in London with three other maids, was well looked after and comfortable and got £3 a month. When last visited (March, 1932) A. was still in the above place, very happy. Her employer apparently thought a great deal of her and her aunt had two days' work a week in the same place.

12. STEPNEY. Jewish girl, b. 1910

*School reports.*

Regular on whole but was out of school and at work for four months. This girl was trained in needlework and domestic science and wished to do sewing when she left school. Her speech was normal but she was very backward mentally, only being able to read two and three letter words and get correct change up to 5s. She was considered intelligent, however, and her backwardness was attributed to her long absences from school.

*Home conditions.*

Father was a coster, and the mother, who was very delicate, was at home. They had a small shop and occupied three rooms at a rent of 14s. 3d. There were four children, two of whom were at work, living at home.

The whole family appears to have been below normal mentally. Two married sisters were said to be mentally defective and a brother, aged 19, was also defective. He earned 15s. a week. The next boy, who was backward, gave 10s. at home. The home was poor and untidy and there was no control, but A. was a good girl and did not need looking after. Two cousins (father's brother's family) were M.D. The father earned about 30s. and the mother, who ran the small paper shop, made about 5s. a week. The youngest boy, aged 11, was at a normal elementary school.

*After-school career.*

A., who had been doing boot-work, went back to it on leaving school, getting 10s. a week. In November she was getting 11s. but said that the machine hurt her legs. She was still there in February, 1927, but was discontented with the wages, still 11s. She remained there till September when she got into fur work, but in June, 1928, was out again, as the head of the firm died and the firm closed down.

The mother died in July and the home got more neglected. A. was seen again in February, 1929, when she was back in the fur trade, but some time this year she married a non-Jew, a motor-driver. In March, 1931, she was living happily with her husband, and things were still satisfactory in March, 1932, when she had two children. They were then living at Bow, and though her husband was unemployed, the girl seemed quite happy.



13. BETHNAL GREEN. b. 1910

*School report.*

Attendance irregular. Away for months at a time. This girl was trained in domestic and needlework, but is only fair at it. She is more suitable for factory work. She can read two- and three-letter words and can just add and subtract. Speech is normal. She is restless, resentful and disobedient, with a sullen temper. Her home is poor and she sometimes comes to school in a verminous condition.

*Home conditions.*

The mother supports the children. The father never appears to work and lives with his mother. It was ascertained that he does odd jobs and contributes a little to the family. The mother has a wood-yard and lives in one room with her two girls, A. and a sister, seven years younger. The home is dirty and untidy. Rent 3s. 6d.

*After-school career.*

The girl went "hopping" in September, 1926, after she left school. On November 9 she started at a box-folding company, at the learner's wage of 12s. Her eyes gave trouble. In January, 1927, she was put off for slackness and got a job at rag-sorting at 14s. a week, but after one week the employer moved and did not send for her again. She was still out of work in April and as her mother's business was slack, they had applied to the Guardians. She had not obtained work by August. In September the Relieving Officer found the girl a job at a french polishing firm at 10s. a week. She was there till October, when she was getting 12s. 6d. a week, but was put off for slackness about Christmas time. She was then out of work till July, 1929, when the family went "fruiting."

In September, 1930, she was again with a french polisher, and was very busy, working late. The mother had a stroke at the end of the year and was in Hoxton Infirmary till July, 1931 (when the last information was obtained). A. kept her job at the french polishing firm, and was then earning 22s. 6d. per week, out of which she paid the rent of 3s. 6d. and kept herself and her sister. She intended to make a home for her mother when she came out of hospital. They could have gone to live with the father, but would not.

14. DEPTFORD. b. 1913

*School report.*

Attendance unpunctual and irregular. This girl's work is equal to that of a fair standard I child. She was taught all domestic subjects, including embroidery, and was a reliable, steady worker and a good ironer. She was an obedient girl and quite reliable, but was delicate and inert at times. Speech normal and clear. Very fond of young

children and suitable for a nursemaid. She is irregular in attendance and appears to have minor ailments.

*Home conditions.*

Father a carman. Mother at home, and there are six children. They rent a four-roomed flat at 9s. 7d. per week, and are a respectable family, though poor. Two boys are at work, one of them is under statutory supervision. He is employed at the glass works. The mother said that A. was strong and healthy and only backward at book-learning.

*After-school career.*

The girl started work in October, 1929, at a wireless manufacturing company, at 18s. per week, but was turned off after six or seven weeks, for no stated reason. In January, 1930, she obtained work at a coffee shop, getting 14s. and food. In April she had a bad throat and lost her work. In May she was again in restaurant work, getting 16s., but was dismissed after a month as she could not carry two cups of tea at a time; otherwise she could manage. Another job in a confectioner's shop was obtained at 23s. 9d. per week, but was there for one week only, and then got work in a cake factory and was employed greasing tins from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., wages unstated. She had to leave in December as her mother was ill, and could not get taken on again. She was taken on again in March at a wage of 23s. 9d. and remained here. In September, 1932, the firm moved to the West End and A. went with them. Is described as one of the best types of M.D.s.

15. WOOLWICH. b. 1914

*Home conditions.*

This child is illegitimate and nothing is known of her own father.

*After-school career.*

September, 1929, to February, 1930, resident domestic service. Left as she was accused of stealing. Then obtained daily domestic work, wages 7s. 6d. weekly. Dismissed for stealing. Next, factory (wire work, wages 17s. 6d.). Left of her own accord after working for a month. Then wardmaid in a hospital, but dismissed as incompetent at end of a month. Resident domestic service. Dismissed for stealing jewellery. Notified and found to be mentally defective. Institution to be found for her. Meanwhile daily domestic work. Girl considered to be in moral danger because of her associations with men. In August, 1931, sent to a certified institution.

# ANNEX 2

## STATISTICAL NOTES ON MENTAL DEFICIENCY

### *A—On the Method of Estimating the Number of Mentally Deficient Persons in the County of London*

THE number of mental defectives dealt with by the London County Council under the Mental Deficiency Acts at the middle of 1933 was about 9,500 (of whom 6,000 were in institutions). To these have to be added a large proportion (estimated by Dr. Shrubsall at three-quarters) of the persons dealt with under sections 24 and 25 of the Lunacy Act. These numbered 3,672 at the middle of 1933, of whom three-quarters would be about 2,750. Hence the *total* number of mental defectives dealt with in institutions, or by supervision, guardianship, etc., may be put at 12,250, to which have to be added the 4,350 children between 7 and 16 in special schools, giving a total of about 17,000 who are under some form of supervision.

This total is subject to various additions and deductions:—

- (i) An addition in respect of children below school age who have not been placed under supervision, (say) 3,000.
- (ii) (a) An addition for children of school age who though not certified for "special" schools are nevertheless "M.D." by educational standards. (b) A deduction for children in special schools who are not "M.D." within meaning of Mental Deficiency Acts. It is considered that for purposes of a rough estimate (a) and (b) may be set against each other.
- (iii) An addition in respect of a large number of juveniles who after leaving "special" schools were not placed under supervision although mentally deficient. It is estimated that at least 500 of the school leavers every year fall under this category, and if 20 years' life be assumed for them, there would be some 10,000 mental defectives over the age of 16 in the County of London not under supervision. There is evidently a wide margin for possible error in this estimate, in view of the absence of statistics of the longevity of mental defectives, and also of the fact that an unascertained proportion of those not originally placed under supervision are probably admitted to supervision of some kind at some later date.

The final results may be set out as follows:—

In institutions or under supervision of some kind or in special schools for M.D. children . . . . .	17,000
Under school age . . . . .	3,000
To be added in respect of persons over 16 not placed under supervision . . . . .	10,000
Total . . . . .	30,000

In view of the uncertainty which attaches to one large item which enters into this total, it would be prudent to allow a fairly wide margin of error.

*B—Note on Table on p. 352.*

It has been suggested that the comparison may possibly be affected by the fact that one of the groups of cases dealt with by the London Association for Mental Welfare (viz. those placed under Statutory Supervision) probably contains an excessive proportion of neglected (and therefore presumably poor) cases. To test how far this may have affected the results the "Statutory Supervision" cases and the "After Care" cases have been separated from the others in the Eastern Survey Area, with the following results:—

Groups of Boroughs	" M.D. " Cases dealt with per 10,000 Working-class Population		
	Statutory Supervision Cases	After-Care Cases	Total of all Cases.
Group 1 (poverty under 10 per cent.)	8	9	21
Group 2 ( " 10 per cent. to 14 per cent.)	8	12	23
Group 3 ( " 14 per cent. to 18 per cent.)	10	17	30
Group 4 ( " over 18 per cent.) . . .	10	21	36

The result is to show that the correlation between M.D. cases and the poverty of the district is least marked in the "Statutory Supervision" group and most marked in the "After Care" group. It appears, therefore, that the argument in the text is not affected by the excess of poor persons among those selected for Statutory Supervision.

## PART IV

### BOROUGH SUMMARIES

THE following pages contain, for the Western Survey Area, a summary of information for each borough on the same plan as that followed in Volume III (pp. 343-412) in the case of the Eastern Area. It was there explained that the boroughs as at present constituted were formed since the period to which Charles Booth's Survey related but that they follow roughly the boundaries of ancient parishes or groups of parishes. The greatest change made in any one area as a result of the Local Government Act, 1899, was in Chelsea where the population of Kensal Town (Chelsea detached), numbering 22,000 in 1891, was divided between Paddington and Kensington. In the majority of other areas the changes in population due to the transfer of fringes and detached parts from one parish to another did not exceed one thousand persons.

The summary for each borough in the Western Survey Area begins with a brief description of its topographical, economic and social characteristics, together with a few leading figures bearing upon the life and labour of its inhabitants. This descriptive account is followed by tables giving some of the salient statistical results of the House Sample inquiry and of the Street Survey. The tables from the House Sample show the sizes of families, mode of housing, rents, numbers of earners and non-earners, family incomes in relation to rent, relation of families and persons to the minimum standard, and grouping of families and persons according to apparent causes of poverty. The table from the

Street Survey gives a cross-classification of the population of the borough by economic grades and the colour of the streets inhabited by persons of each grade as shown in the maps in Volume VII.

#### NOTES ON THE BOROUGH TABLES

*Table I* includes lodgers but excludes absentees.

The second part of the table excludes furnished tenements.

*Table II* includes absentees but excludes lodgers.

"Dependent Child" signifies Male under 18 or Female under 16.

*Table III* includes absentees but excludes lodgers.

"Males 20-65" includes also heads of families aged 16-20.

"Other females 18-65" includes also women aged 16-18, not daughter of head of household.

*Table IV.* The decimal figure of the average rent is unreliable.

*Table VI* includes absentees but excludes lodgers.

The difference, if any, between the total number of persons here and in *Table III* is due to insufficient information.

*Table VII.* The category "Old Age" includes only cases where one or two persons over 65 are living alone.

"No Male Adult Earner" includes cases where there is a man over 65 retired from work, whereas in *Table xxx*, p. 107, the cause of poverty would be given as illness or incapacitation.

"Casual" includes males with no assigned occupation as well as hawkers, casual labourers, etc.

"Unemployment" includes cases of short time.

*Table VIII.* The initials P, U, S, M, indicate Poverty, Unskilled, Skilled, Middle Class, respectively (see Chapter VI, p. 119).

#### CORRECTION

Among the particulars given in tabular form at the head of each of the Borough Summaries in Volume III was the percentage of persons in working-class families living *2 or more* persons to a room, but the figures were wrongly described as the percentage living *more than 2* persons to a room.

## FINSBURY

Population {	1891 . . . . .	109,981	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	140
	1921 . . . . .	75,995	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	47
	1931 . . . . .	69,888	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	13.2
Area (acres) . . . . .	587		Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	48.9
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	18.8		Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	82.5
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	14.3		Ditto (1911) . . . . .	81.1
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	68		Ditto (1881) . . . . .	72.8
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	17			

Finsbury is the smallest of the London boroughs except Holborn. It lies between Islington on the north and the City of London on the south. Shoreditch forms its eastern boundary, and Holborn and St. Pancras boroughs adjoin it on the west. Its population in 1931 was 70,000, or 36 per cent. less than in 1891, when it was 110,000. As in other boroughs near the City, dwelling-houses have been steadily giving way to business premises.

Clerkenwell Road with its continuation, Old Street, is a main thoroughfare running through the borough from west to east, while St. John Street and Goswell Road traverse it from north to south. Pentonville Road runs east and west near the northern boundary, and immediately south of this road is the best residential district in Finsbury consisting of some fairly wide roads with a few squares containing early nineteenth-century houses originally occupied by rather well-to-do people but now mostly let out in tenements or used as boarding-houses or occupied by persons who let lodgings. Most of the remainder of the borough consists of streets of mean dwelling-houses interspersed with factories and other business premises, with, here and there, large blocks of working-class tenements.

There are four busy street markets in Finsbury, in Chapel Street, Whitecross Street, Exmouth Street and Farringdon Road respectively. The Farringdon Road market is known chiefly for its stalls for the sale of second-hand books, tools and wireless components.

The proportion of persons living in poverty (1929-30) is 13.2 per cent. This figure is lower than those shown for several boroughs in the Eastern Area, but is higher than for any except Southwark in the Western Area.

The percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 47, nearly double the percentage for the Survey Area as a whole. Finsbury has the unenviable distinction of being the borough showing the most acute overcrowding, the percentage of persons in private families living more than three to a room being 10.6. The nearest approach to this figure is shown for the adjoining borough of Shoreditch (10.2 per cent.), while the next in order of magnitude is Stepney with 7.5 per cent. These figures compare with 3.3 per cent. for the entire Survey Area.

Probably the most overcrowded and wretched part of Finsbury is that

within a triangle formed by St. John Street, City Road and Old Street. In this area Bastwick Street, Gee Street, Little Sutton Street and Sidney Street show much poverty and degradation, and a group centring on Ironmonger Street shows a criminal element. There are other bad patches between Farringdon Road and St. John Street and north of Pentonville Road in the north-eastern corner of the borough. In the latter area Warren Street, Godson Street and James Gardens are particularly bad.

In 1931 the proportion of London-born inhabitants of Finsbury was 82 per cent. as compared with 70 per cent. for the County of London. Two per cent. were born in foreign countries, more than half of them in Italy.

The birth-rate per 1,000 of population, taking the mean of the five years 1927-31, is 18.8. This is the fourth highest rate for boroughs in the Survey Area. The death-rate (14.3 per 1,000) is the highest shown for any of the boroughs. The infantile mortality rate, 68 per 1,000 live births, is however not very high.

According to the Census of 1921 the day population of Finsbury is increased by 82,000 workers who live in other places, while less than a quarter of that number (19,000) dwell in the borough and work elsewhere. There is a considerable variety of manufacturing industries carried on in the borough, though none of them are on a large scale. Printing and stationery, the making of cardboard and wooden boxes, engineering, cabinet making, and electro-plating are among the more important of these industries, while in the Clerkenwell district there are numerous workshops devoted to watch making and repairing and the making of scientific instruments.

There are 16 elementary schools with places for 12,600 children, one central school and 4 secondary schools (including the Merchant Taylors' School). There is also the Northampton Polytechnic Institute where both day and evening classes are held in engineering and other subjects. Finsbury has one public library, one theatre or music hall, 2 cinemas and 167 public-houses or one for every 418 inhabitants. If, however, the day population be taken into account (i.e. including persons who work in Finsbury but do not live there) the number of persons per public-house is 790.

Finsbury is very poorly provided with open spaces, which consist of small playgrounds, and squares and churchyards which are open to the public. The total area of open spaces is twelve acres only.

Among the more interesting buildings in Finsbury are the ancient buildings of the Charterhouse and St. John's Gate, a relic of the Priory of the Knights of St. John, built in 1504. John Wesley's house in City Road, dating from the eighteenth century, is also in the borough.



# FINSBURY

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## FINSBURY

Population in private families in 1929 68 700 (estimated)  
 Sample: Tenements—Working class 518 Working class Families 558  
 Middle-class 68 Families 1 984 (including lodgers)  
 Unknown status — Persons

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	56	30	15	12	5	2	1	—	121	5 85
2	20	60	43	32	25	12	8	10	210	9 0
3	1	35	26	24	27	10	9	10	138	10 5
4	1	9	13	16	14	6	5	4	68	14 3
5	—	7	1	4	6	1	2	2	17	16 5
6 or more	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2	4	20 05
Totals	78	135	90	88	73	32	25	28	448	9 7

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 2 cases of negative rent and 12 rent not stated

II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN							
Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and 1 Childre)	Other Cases of Men over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	
Number of Families							
0	96	48	21	26	6	37	288
1	47	30	18	4	14	1	109
2	38	21	12	1	8	—	80
3	26	9	2	—	3	1	41
4	7	8	1	1	—	—	17
5 or more	13	7	1	2	—	—	23
Totals	2	123	55	34	85	39	558

III EARNERS AND NON-EARNERS							
Males over 14 Years				Females over 14 Years		Children	Totals
Age	Earners	Non-earners	Age	Earners	Non-earners	Age	Number
Number of Persons							
65 and over	20	0	65 and over	9	65	5 to 14	369
20 to 65	477	15	18 to 65	103	321	3 to 5	95
18 to 20	34	—	Wives	156	15	0 to 3	104
16 to 18	28	1	Others	48	9		
14 to 16	31	11	16 to 18	30	8		
Totals	590	47	Totals	355	418	Total	568
						Total	1 978

IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT												
(Shillings per Week)												
Income Range	Over	Not over	0	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7
Families	Number	Number	34/1	42/6	52/6	62/6	72/6	82/6	92/6	102/6	112/6	182/7 and over
Average rent	Shillings	Shillings	48	34	57	93	84	56	44	27	53	32
			18	7 6	8 3	8 5	9 10	11 4	11 8	11 15	11 11	12 45
			14 0									9 7

Average Income 75s to 78s  
 29 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

V

## FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

	At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation		At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	
Above standard			Total above standard	499	469	
Amount known	491	461	Marginal	3	2	
Amount unknown			Below standard			
(certainly above)	8	8	(certainly)	27	58	
Probably above	—	—	Probably	—	—	
	499	469		521 <sup>1</sup>	529 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	05 to 105	105 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Totals
Full Time	57	18	119	123	44	491
Week of Investigation	59	68	191	114	39	461

<sup>1</sup> 29 families excluded because of insufficient information

## PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65+	38	3	9	19	13	17	Ages 5 to 14 years	36	61
18 to 65	508	7	34	565	13	37	Ages 0 to 5 years	116	29
16 to 18	29	1	2	57	2	4			
14 to 16	40	—	3	47	—	2			
Totals	615	13	48	718	28	60			

GRAND TOTAL Persons 1311 Below standard (a) 70 (b) 118

## CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Persons
Old age	15	16	Full time wages insufficient	—
Incapacity	2	8	(a) Enough for 3 or 4	—
No male adult earner	5	10	children but less than 3	3
Casual work	1	7	(b) Not enough 3 or less	28
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	29	125	More than 4	6
Illness <sup>1</sup>	2	7		
Carried forward	54	164	Totals	58

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

VIII

## STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue	5 050	6 500	2 540	30	14 200	7.3	9.5	3.7	0.1	20.6
Purple with Blue Stripe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Purple	—	380	21 800	5 020	300	23 700	3.7	32.8	7.3	43.2
Pink	—	1 280	1 940	16 770	411	20 400	1.9	2.8	24.4	29.7
Pink with Red Stripe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Red	—	190	640	2 270	1 300	4 400	0.3	0.9	3.3	6.5
Totals	9 100	30 900	26 600	2,100	68 700	13.2	43.0	38.7	3.1	100.0

## HOLBORN

Population {	1891 . . . . .	66,781	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	91
	1921 . . . . .	43,192	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	40
	1931 . . . . .	38,816	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	4.6
Area (acres) . . . . .		406	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	35.0
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	11.1		Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	50.9
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	11.9		Ditto (1911) . . . . .	57.3
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	66		Ditto (1881) . . . . .	61.8
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .		23		

Holborn, the smallest of the London boroughs, adjoins the city of Westminster on the south and south-west, the borough of St. Pancras on the north-east and Finsbury and the City of London in the north-east and east respectively. Its population, which was 67,000 in 1891, had shrunk to 39,000 in 1931 owing mainly to the supersession of dwelling-houses by business premises. A noteworthy example of this is the displacement of many narrow and crowded streets and alleys by the broad thoroughfare of Kingsway.

The principal residential area is the part of Bloomsbury that lies within the borough, and this area contains many hotels, boarding-houses and students' hostels. Near the eastern boundary of Holborn the old Italian quarter centring on Saffron Hill and Leather Lane is gradually giving place to warehouses, small factories and large blocks of working-class tenements. Among the more important business and shopping thoroughfares are Holborn, Theobald's Road, Southampton Row and Kingsway. There is a busy street market in Leather Lane and a smaller one in Little Earl Street in the Seven Dials district.

Immediately to the east of Southampton Row there is a group of mean streets, mostly built in the eighteenth century, where poverty is apparent. Of these East Street shows considerable overcrowding and degradation, and Millman Street, Old Gloucester Street and Devonshire Street have an unsavoury reputation. In the south-western corner of the borough is part of the old Seven Dials district, formerly one of the worst slum areas in London, where Neal Street and Short's Gardens are still black spots. Of the population of Holborn in 1931 the proportion of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 40 per cent., a proportion exceeded in only five other boroughs in the Survey Area.

The proportion of persons living in poverty is 4.6 per cent. This compares favourably with the great majority of boroughs in the Survey Area, only five of which show lower percentages.

Only 51 per cent. of the inhabitants of Holborn in 1931 were London-born. Those born in the rest of England and Wales accounted for 31 per cent., while 9 per cent. were born in foreign countries. Nearly one-third of the foreign-born were Italians. Doubtless some of the foreigners were visitors staying at the numerous hotels and boarding-houses in the borough.

For the five years 1927-31 the mean yearly birth-rate per 1,000 of

population was 11·1. Only one other borough in the Survey had a lower rate. The death-rate (11·9) and the infantile mortality rate (66 per 1,000 live births) were not exceptional.

At the time of the 1921 Census 13,600 inhabitants of Holborn worked in places outside the borough. The number who worked in Holborn but lived elsewhere was 69,000. The occupations followed by persons living in the borough are very various. Hotel and boarding-house service, road and railway transport, and commerce are perhaps the chief occupations, but in the Clerkenwell district there are numerous workshops where small metal goods, optical and other fine instruments and jewellery are made.

Education is provided in 12 elementary schools with accommodation for 5,200 children. There are no central or secondary schools, but the Central School for Arts and Crafts and the London Day Training College (now the "Institute of Education") are situated in the borough. Holborn has a public library, 10 theatres and music-halls and one cinema. There are 97 public-houses or one to every 401 of the inhabitants, but this proportion takes no account of the large daily influx into the borough of people who live elsewhere.

Holborn has only one open space worthy of mention—Lincoln's Inn Fields (7 acres). The total area of open spaces is 9 acres only. Among the buildings of historical or architectural interest in the borough are the British Museum, Lincoln's Inn, Grays Inn, and Staple Inn.

# HOLBORN

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## HOLBORN

Population in private families in 1929, 28 000 (estimated)

Sample : Tenements—	Working-class	472	Working-class	
	Middle class	136	Families	472
	Unknown status	41	Persons	1 411

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	59	21	11	9	1	—	2	1	104	8 0
2	34	66	45	34	10	—	5	2	205	10 9
3	—	38	28	15	20	11	4	4	129	14 3
4	1	1	6	7	5	4	3	1	28	19 1
5	—	—	1	—	1	2	2	—	6	18 55
6 or more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	103	126	91	65	37	6	10	8	472	11 6
	Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub Tenants	
Rented	10		202		170		14		49	
Owned	—		—		—		1		—	
Free	—		13		—		—		—	

<sup>1</sup> Including 6 cases of negative rent and 6 rent not stated

## II FAMILIES AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more (children)	Man and	Other (cases	Women and	No Farmers	
			Wife and Children)	of Man and Wife	Children only		
			Number of Families				
0	100	44	14	18	81	33	290
1	44	20	9	2	4	1	80
2	33	9	6	—	—	—	53
3	14	6	1	—	3	—	24
4	6	5	—	—	1	—	12
5 or more	8	4	1	—	—	—	13
Totals	200	88	31	—	91	35	472

## III FARMERS AND NON FARMERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Num ber	Totals
Number of Persons								
65 and over	12	18	65 and over	10	41	5 to 14	242	Farmers 701
20 to 65	384	4	18 to 65	92	16	3 to 5	43	Non earners 710
18 to 20	23	—	Wives	14	11	0 to 3	64	
16 to 18	18	1	Others	20	—			
14 to 16	12	9	14 to 16	6	11			
Totals	449	32	Totals	5	31	Total	349	Total 1 411

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over Not over	34/	34/1	42/	42/1	52/	52/1	62/	62/1	72/	72/1	82/	82/1	92/	92/1	102/	102/1	112/	112/1	122/	122/1	132/	132/1	142/	142/1	152/	152/1	162/	162/1	172/	172/1	182/	182/1	Total and Average
Families	Number	48	29	48	100	44	50	39	25	32	20	7	458 <sup>1</sup>																					
Average rent	Shillings	7/6	10/3	10/6	10/11	11/7	11/6	12/9	13/6	13/6	13/6	13/6	11/6																					

Average Income 69s to 75s

<sup>1</sup> 6 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	Total above standard		At Full- time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation
Above standard			Marginal			
Amount known	421	412	Below standard		427	418
Amount unknown			Certainly			
Certainly above	5	5	Probably		31	40
Probably above	1	1				
	427	418			458 <sup>1</sup>	458 <sup>1</sup>
Amount above Standard	05 to 10s	10s to 20s	05 to 40s	40s to 80s	80s or more	Totals
Full Time	54	69	153	11*	33	421
Week of Investigation	55	71	150	106	30	412

<sup>1</sup> 14 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65—	29	5	4	41	11	11	Ages 5 to 14 years	242	17
25 to 65	401	8	17	483	17	5	Ages 1 to 5 years	107	5
16 to 25	18	—	—	20	1	2			
14 to 16	22	—	—	17	1	1			
Totals	470	13	22	566	30	39		2	37

GRAND TOTAL PERSONS 1385 Below standard (a) 15 (b) 37

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
Old age	15	15	Full time wages insufficient	
Incapacity	—	—	(a) Not enough for children	20
No male adult earner	8	19	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	7
Casual work	—	4	More than 3	—
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	9	33		
Illness <sup>1</sup>	—	—		
Carried forward	34	71	Total	98

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M
Blue									
Purple with Blue Stripe	110	710	270	10	1100	0.4	0.5	0.0	—
Purple	160	2450	710	130	3700	1.3	8.7	2.7	0.5
Pink	610	1300	5860	430	8200	2.2	4.7	20.9	1.5
Pink with Red Stripe	120	170	1230	680	2000	0.4	0.6	4.4	2.5
Red	100	470	1680	1050	1800	0.3	1.7	6.0	3.7
Totals	1300	5100	9800	1800	28000	4.6	18.2	35.0	42.4

## WESTMINSTER

Population	{ 1891 . . . . . 201,969	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . . 91
	{ 1921 . . . . . 141,578	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . . 22
	{ 1931 . . . . . 129,535	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . . 4.2
Area (acres) . . . . .	2,503	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . . 24.3
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	10.4	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . . 42.9
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	13.0	Ditto (1911) . . . . . 47.2
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	68	Ditto (1881) . . . . . 54.4
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	531	

The city of Westminster extends from the river Thames on the south to the boroughs of Paddington, St. Marylebone and Holborn on the north. Kensington and Chelsea form its western boundary, and it adjoins the City of London on the east. The population, which was 244,000 in 1851, had fallen to 202,000 in 1891 and to 130,000 in 1931. The progressive decline in population has been largely due to the conversion or adaptation of residences for the purposes of shops and offices. Over one in six of the population are in hotels and boarding-houses.

Over one-quarter of the area of the city consists of open spaces and much of the remainder is occupied by public buildings, shops, hotels, commercial offices, and theatres and other places of entertainment. The principal residential quarters are the Mayfair district and Belgravia, both near Hyde Park, containing the town houses of the wealthier classes; Pimlico, south of Belgravia, of very mixed character, including some decidedly poor streets; and the Soho district, well known for its foreign colony.

The poorest streets in Westminster are in the south of the Pimlico district near the river. There is considerable poverty and overcrowding in Pulford Street and Aylesford Street in this area. In the Soho district there are a few poor streets, notably Bateman's Buildings south of Soho Square, where there is a criminal element.

In Westminster are some world-famous shopping streets—Regent Street, Bond Street, the Strand, Victoria Street and Oxford Street. There are also minor shopping streets for customers resident in their immediate vicinity, and street markets in Berwick Street (Soho), in Pimlico at Strutton Ground and Lupus Street, and in Pimlico Road. There are several blocks of working-class tenements in the city, notably in Pimlico and in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden Market.

The percentage of persons living in poverty (4.2) is low and compares with 9.5 per cent. for the whole Survey Area. As regards overcrowding, the proportion of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 22 per cent. as compared with 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area.

In 1931 only 4.3 per cent. of the inhabitants were London-born, while 47 per cent. were born elsewhere in the British Isles and 7 per cent. in foreign countries. Some of the latter were, no doubt, visitors staying in hotels, but many were Italian and French residents in Soho and Russian and Polish Jews.

The mean yearly birth-rate taken over the period 1927-31 was 10·4 per 1,000 of population, the lowest rate shown for any borough in the Survey Area. The death-rate was 13·0 per 1,000, and the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 68.

The 1921 Census shows that there were 85,000 occupied persons living in Westminster, of whom 19,000 worked elsewhere. On the other hand, 251,000 persons who lived in other places worked in Westminster, where government and other offices and the large shops give employment to large numbers of persons who dwell outside the borough. The chief classes of occupations followed by male residents in 1921 were those of personal service (domestic servants, waiters, etc.) and transport. Of the occupied female residents over one-half were engaged in personal service, chiefly as domestic servants.

Westminster has 25 elementary schools accommodating 11,500 children, 2 central schools and 5 secondary or higher schools, including St. Peter's College (usually known as Westminster School). There is also the Westminster Technical Institute in Vincent Square, while in the borough are situated the Royal College of Music, and two Colleges of London University, viz. King's College and the London School of Economics and Political Science. There are 4 public libraries, 41 theatres and music-halls, 20 cinemas, and 370 public-houses, or one to every 350 of the population. When considering these figures it should be borne in mind that the population is trebled in the daytime by workers who live elsewhere, and is increased by pleasure seekers and visitors, especially in the evening.

There are 688 acres of open spaces in Westminster, or 2½ per cent. of the total area of the borough. Hyde Park is the largest, followed by St. James's Park and the Green Park. The other spaces are comparatively small in size, ranging from the Victoria Embankment Gardens (8 acres) down to two gardens of less than half an acre each.

No other borough in London can compare with the City of Westminster in the interest attaching to its public buildings. Westminster Abbey easily heads the list, which includes the Houses of Parliament, two royal palaces, the Law Courts, the principal government offices, the National Galleries, Inigo Jones's Banqueting Hall, the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Somerset House, and other civic or ecclesiastical buildings too numerous to mention.



# WESTMINSTER

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## WESTMINSTER

Population in private families in 1929 103,400 (estimated)  
 Sample Tenements—Working class 416 Working class Families 416  
 Middle class 309 Families 1,209 (including 4 lodgers)  
 Unknown status 23 Persons

I	SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT									
	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
Number of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
Number of Families										
1	36	13	3	—	—	—	—	—	52	7.6
2	25	8	25	16	6	4	1	—	159	11.3
3	11	58	21	30	11	1	4	2	143	13.6
4	1	7	11	24	4	5	4	1	47	16.0
5	—	1	—	3	1	3	3	3	24	23.5
6 or more	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	16.3
Totals	73	111	60	64	—	18	1	6	416	14.4
Housing										
Number of Families										
Separate Houses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Divided Houses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Blocks of Flats	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sub- lessors	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sub Tenants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rented	—	48	—	151	—	146	—	21	—	30
Owned free	—	2	—	8	—	5	—	2	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 1 case of net negative rent and 4 rent not stated

## II. EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

### EARNING GROUPS

Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases (Man over 20)	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
Number of Families							
0	135	21	14	14	58	34	276
1	37	15	—	4	3	—	59
2	41	6	—	3	2	—	54
3	10	5	—	—	1	—	16
4	6	—	1	—	—	—	7
5 or more	4	2	—	—	—	—	6
Totals	33	49	5	1	64	34	470

## III. EARNERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	3	0	65 and over	1	33	5 to 14	189	Earners 553
20 to 65	357	12	18 to 65	44	297	3 to 5	40	Non earners 632
18 to 20	18	—	Wives	84	8	0 to 3	49	
16 to 18	19	—	Others	17	—			
14 to 16	2	0	14 to 16	3	6			
Totals	399	30	Totals	154	344	Total	278	Total 1,005

## IV. FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over Not over	34/	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/6	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7	122/7	132/7	142/7	152/7	162/7	172/7	182/7	Total and Average
Families	Number	32	34	37	88	76	153	27	18	26	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	411
Average rent	Shillings	6.8	9.9	11.1	11.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.7	15.1	14	21.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	14.4

Average Income 70s to 73s

<sup>1</sup> 5 families omitted because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation				
Above standard			Total above standard			
Amount known	402	399	402			
Amount unknown	—	—	7			
Certainly above	—	—	8			
Probably above	—	—	11			
	402	399	411 <sup>1</sup>			
Amount above Standard	05 to 105	105 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Totals
Full Time	25	73	188	97	19	402
Week of Investigation	26	73	190	91	19	399

<sup>1</sup> 5 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)
65+	1	1	38	—	Ages 5 to 14 yrs	16
18 to 65	378	4	427	7	18	13
16 to 18	19	—	17	1	Ages 1 to 5 years	7
14 to 16	11	1	9	—	6 <sup>1</sup>	—
Totals	420	5	431	8	77	23

GRAND TOTAL Persons 1766 Below standard (a) 31 (b) 4

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons	Full time wages in which 11 (a) Enough for 3 12 (b) but in 12 than 3		Families	Persons
Old age	2	2	(c) Not enough for 3 or 1 12 More than 3		1	3
Incapacity	—	—	Totals		11	42
No male adult earner	1	9				
Casual work	—	—				
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	3	11				
Illness <sup>1</sup>	—	—				
Carried forward	8	22				

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigationVIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSON OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS  
OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons				Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M
Blue	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Purple with Blue Stripe	410	1 790	900	—	2 600	0 4	1 2	0 9	—
Purple	1 270	6 660	3 730	140	11 800	1 2	6 5	3 6	0 1
Pink	1 840	4 920	2 100	1 380	33 500	1 8	4 8	2 1	1 5
Pink with Red Stripe	500	670	2 860	970	5 000	0 5	0 6	2 8	0 9
Red	280	1 160	9 450	39 610	50 500	0 3	1 1	9 1	38 4
Totals	4 300	14 700	42 100	42 300	103 400	4 2	14 2	40 7	40 9

## LAMBETH

Population	{ 1891 . . . . . 278,393	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30):	
	{ 1921 . . . . . 302,868	North Lambeth . . . . .	28
	{ 1931 . . . . . 296,162	South Lambeth . . . . .	4
Area (acres)	. . . . . 4,083	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30)	
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 16.0	North Lambeth . . . . .	11.6
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 12.9	South Lambeth . . . . .	5.4
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 60	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants	. . . . . 91	North Lambeth . . . . .	32.1
No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931)		South Lambeth . . . . .	18.5
North Lambeth . . . . .	114	Percentage of persons born in London	
South Lambeth . . . . .	82	(1931) . . . . .	70.5
		Ditto (1911) . . . . .	69.8
		Ditto (1881) . . . . .	62.9

Lambeth, one of the larger London boroughs, occupies an area six miles in length from the Thames on the north to the county boundary on the south. It is bounded on the east by Southwark and Camberwell, and on the west by Battersea and Wandsworth. The population of the borough rose from 278,000 in 1891 to 302,000 in 1901. By 1911 it had fallen to 298,000, but by 1921 it had increased to 303,000. The 1931 Census showed a population of 296,000.

The land surface rises from 12 feet in North Lambeth to 350 feet in parts of the extreme south of the borough. The density of the houses and the social grade of their inhabitants are related to the elevation of the land, the more crowded and poorer parts being in the north, while in the south the houses are generally larger and spaced farther apart and their inhabitants are mostly of the middle classes. Kennington Road and its continuations, Brixton Road and Brixton Hill, form a wide artery from north to south-west. At the southern end of Brixton Road another important road (Effra Road—Tulse Hill Road—Norwood Road) branches off in a southerly direction.

The principal shopping thoroughfare is Brixton Road, with Atlantic Road and Electric Avenue which branch from it. Among other shopping roads may be mentioned Lambeth Walk in the north and Denmark Hill and part of Norwood Road in the south. There are flourishing street markets in Lambeth Walk, Lower Marsh (and its continuation the New Cut) and Wilcox Road (all in North Lambeth) and in Station Road and Pope's Road close to Brixton Station.

The Census of 1931 shows that about 71 per cent. of the inhabitants of Lambeth were London-born, 27 per cent. were born in other parts of the British Isles and 2 per cent. abroad.

The percentage of persons living in poverty is rather high in North Lambeth, where it is 11.6 as against 5.4 per cent. only in South Lambeth. Overcrowding, though pronounced in parts of North Lambeth, is not considerable in the borough as a whole.

The poorest and most overcrowded areas are in the neighbourhood of Waterloo Station and the lines of railway leading to it, and near the railway goods depot and gas works at Nine Elms. Tenison Street, part of Waterloo Road, Wootton Street, Ethelm Street and a group of streets

centring on Oakley Street—all near Waterloo Station—are characterised by vice and crime, but the worst patch is Waxwell Terrace near Westminster Bridge Road. Very poor and overcrowded conditions prevail in Pascal Street, Portland Cottages and Hemans Street which lie between Nine Elms goods depot and Wandsworth Road, while poverty, overcrowding and crime are associated in Old Paradise Street off Lambeth Walk.

In South Lambeth there is some overcrowding and poverty in the Brixton district, notably in Margate Road, Mauleverer Road and Mandrell Road, in which roads there is some degradation. Cranworth Gardens, also in Brixton, is marked by crime though not by poverty. South of Brixton the patches of poor streets are fewer and more scattered. The poorest is perhaps a small group (Dunbar Street, Wood Street and Auckland Place) between West Norwood Station and Norwood Cemetery.

Taking the five years 1927-31 the mean yearly birth-rate of Lambeth was 16.0 per 1,000 of population. The death-rate was 12.9 and the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 60. These rates are all near the means for the whole Survey Area, which are 15.8, 12.5 and 64.

Of the 146,000 occupied persons who lived in Lambeth in 1921 those who worked elsewhere numbered 85,000 or 58 per cent. Nearly half of these worked in Westminster and the City. On the other hand, 41,000 persons who worked in Lambeth dwelt in other places.

Some manufacturing and other industries are carried on in Lambeth, but none of any considerable magnitude. There are candle and toilet-soap works, beer and vinegar breweries, printing works, laundries, a flour mill, a lead-smelting works, potteries, and factories for the production of boot polishes, sauces and meat essences, hydraulic packing and emery paper and polishes. All of these industries are situated in North Lambeth. Of the occupied male residents in Lambeth in 1921 the largest occupational group was that of road, rail and river transport. In the case of women and girls personal service (domestic servants, laundry workers, waitresses, etc.) formed the largest group.

Lambeth has 58 elementary schools providing places for 37,000 children, 6 central and 5 secondary schools. There are also Morley College for Working Men and Women, the London School of Printing and Kindred Trades, the School of Building, and the Lambeth School of Art. There are 8 public libraries in the borough, 3 theatres or music-halls, 21 cinemas, and 284 public-houses or one for every 1,043 inhabitants.

The total area of open spaces in Lambeth is 269 acres. The largest, Brockwell Park (128 acres), is in the southern part of the borough. Norwood Park (33 acres) is also in the south, but Ruskin Park (36 acres) and Myatt's Fields (14 acres) are more centrally situated, and Kennington Park (26 acres) and some smaller open squares are in North Lambeth.

The building of greatest historical interest in the borough is Lambeth Palace on the riverside, which has been the town residence of the archbishops of Canterbury since the thirteenth century.

As this borough stretches from the central to the outer zone, the statistical tables are given separately for North and South Lambeth.



## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD.

Number of Families						
	At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation		At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	
Above standard			Total above standard	728	694	
Amount known	726	(92)	Marginal	8	9	
Amount unknown			Below standard			
Certainly above	1	1	Certainly	39	72	
Probably above	1	1	Probably	—	—	
	728	(94)		775 <sup>1</sup>	775 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	0s to 10s	10s to 20s	20s to 40s	40s to 80s	80s or more	Total
Full Time	70	119	266	203	68	726
Week of Investigation	76	111	251	195	59	692

<sup>1</sup> 25 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65+	63	11	12	9	22	24	Ages 3 to 14 years		
18 to 65	761	10	4	875	11	53	474	10	41
16 to 18	49	—	1	52	—	—	Ages 0 to 5 years		
14 to 16	43	2	2	40	—	2	198	3	16
	916	23	57	1 059	41	79	672		

GRAND TOTAL Persons, 2 647 Below standard (a) 86 (b) 12

## VII. CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	23	30	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	—	—	(a) Enough to support children		
No male adult earner	10	29	than 3	1	6
Casual work	2	10	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	2	5
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	31	103	More than 3	1	6
Illness <sup>1</sup>	2	4			
Carried forward	68	176			193

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue Stripe	3 340	6 000	1 080	80	10,700	27	46	08	01	82
Purple	7 630	37 500	13 720	750	59 600	59	289	106	06	460
Pink	3 280	11,500	29 420	3 300	47 500	25	89	227	23	366
Pink with Red Stripe	650	2,000	6 380	2 870	11 900	05	16	49	22	92
Red										
Totals	15 100	57,000	50 600	7 000	129 700	116	440	390	54	1000

# SOUTH LAMBETH

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## SOUTH LAMBETH

Population in private families in 1929 152 700 (estimated)

Sample . Tenements—	Working class	377	Families	654
	Middle class	372	Persons	2 032 (including 40 lodgers)
	Unknown status	56		

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	16	7	2	1	—	—	—	—	26	7 3
2	14	50	11	1	1	1	—	1	79	12 1
3	8	132	75	42	17	2	—	—	276	14 7
4	3	32	16	48	1	13	4	2	189	16 7
5	1	5	1	16	14	13	—	2	65	21 5
6 or more	—	—	—	4	3	4	3	3	19	22 0
Total	42	2 8	166	112	51	33	9	8	654	15 4
	Separate Houses			Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub Tenants
Rented	147			173		2		87		178
Owned	21			—		—		33		—
Free	7			1		1		—		1

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 12 cases of negative rent and 19 rent not stated

II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN							
EARNING GROUPS							
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
Number of Families							
0	200	8	8	17	42	40	389
1	98	33	4	7	9	3	154
2	51	11	1	—	1	—	69
3	22	7	—	—	1	1	31
4	4	1	1	—	—	—	6
5 or more	3	2	—	—	—	—	5
Totals	378	141	14	24	53	44	654

III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS							
Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children	
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number
Number of Persons							
65 and over	11	21	65 and over	5	58	5 to 14	286
			18 to 65			3 to 5	57
20 to 65	635	15	Wives	35	140	0 to 3	59
18 to 20	36	—	Others	121	23		
16 to 18	20	—	16 to 18	1	7		
14 to 16	13	19	14 to 16	16	14		
Totals	721	55	Totals	198	642	Total	402
						Total	2 018

IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT													
(Shillings per Week)													
Income Range	Over	34/-	34/1	42/7	42/7	42/7	42/7	42/7	42/7	42/7	42/7	42/7	42/7
	Not over	4	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Families	Number	45	15	38	1	96	86	59	36	78	34	14	624 <sup>1</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	8 3	12 5	13 4	14 3	15 0	16 3	16 3	15 6	18 2	19 5	21 9	15 4

Average Income 80s to 85s

<sup>1</sup> 30 families omitted because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation					At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation
Above standard			Total above standard				600	565
Amount known	590	555	Marginal				1	1
Amount unknown			Below standard					
Certainly above	9	9	Certainly				23	38
Probably above	1	1	Probably				—	—
	600	565					624 <sup>1</sup>	624 <sup>1</sup>
<hr/>			<hr/>					
Amount above Standard	05 to 105	105 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 605	605 or more	Totals		
Full Time	46	95	210	175	64	590		
Week of Investigation	48	95	197	158	57	555		

<sup>1</sup> 30 families exclude 1 because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All	(b)	All	(b)	All	(b)
6+	26	4	50	12	274	26
18 to 65	664	8	687	17	274	26
16 to 18	25	1	27	1	113	12
14 to 16	31	—	28	1	3	12
Totals	746	51	798	30	387	38

GRAND TOTAL Persons 1 931 Below standard (a) 51 (b) 100

## CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	8	12	Full time wages insufficient	—	—
Incapacity	2	6	(a) Enough for children but not more	—	—
No male adult earner	8	14	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	4	16
Casual work	1	3	More than 3	—	—
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	74	107			
Illness <sup>1</sup>	1	2			
Carried forward	54	144	Totals	50	160

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII

## STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Purple with Blue Stripe	630	1 290	280	—	2 200	0.4	0.8	0.2	—	1.4
Purple	1 840	9 270	4 010	80	15 200	1.2	6.1	2.6	0.1	10.0
Pink	4 400	15 420	63 050	3 730	86 600	2.9	10.1	41.3	2.4	56.7
Pink with Red Stripe	780	1 410	13 640	3 570	19 400	0.5	0.9	9.0	2.3	12.7
Red	650	1 610	6 400	20 670	29 300	0.4	1.1	4.2	13.5	19.2
Totals	8 300	29 000	87 400	28 000	152 700	5.4	19.0	57.3	18.3	100.0



## SOUTHWARK

Population	{ 1891 . . . . .	202,479	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	126
	{ 1921 . . . . .	184,404	Percentage of persons in working-class	
	{ 1931 . . . . .	171,657	families living 2 or more persons to	
Area (acres)	. . . . .	1,132	a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	35
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . .	18.1	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street	
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . .	13.8	Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	13.5
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years			Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	43.4
1927-31)		66	Percentage of persons born in London	
No. of acres of open space per 100,000			(1931) . . . . .	83.7
inhabitants . . . . .			Ditto (1911) . . . . .	80.4
			Ditto (1881) . . . . .	69.8

Southwark, which for centuries has been entitled the "Borough," is now one of the smaller of the London boroughs. It is situated on the south bank of the Thames, which forms its northern boundary, and adjoins Bermondsey on the east, Camberwell on the south and Lambeth on the west. The population, which was 202,000 in 1891, increased to 206,000 in 1901, but has since shown a steady decline and by 1931 it had fallen to 172,000. The fall in the population has been due mainly to the displacement of dwelling-houses by business premises as in the case of other inner boroughs.

The northern part of Southwark is crossed by a network of wide thoroughfares such as Blackfriars Road, Southwark Bridge Road, Borough High Street, St. George's Road, Great Dover Street, which carry the cross-river traffic to the southern suburbs. Most of these roads meet at one or other of the centres named St. George's Circus and the Elephant and Castle. The latter is one of the busiest road-traffic centres in London.

Two railways traverse the borough, one from north to south and the other from east to west. They are both carried on lofty viaducts which are not only ugly in themselves but also darken the streets in their immediate neighbourhood.

The principal business and shopping thoroughfares are Borough High Street, Walworth Road and Newington Causeway. There are busy street markets in East Street and Westinoreland Road, both of which run eastwards from Walworth Road, and the New Cut off Blackfriars Road. East Street is notable for its Sunday-morning trade.

At the riverside on the north of the borough are wharves and ware-houses which gradually give way to printing, manufacturing stationers' and other works, interspersed with dwellings which are inhabited for the most part by families of the unskilled labour class. Farther south dwellings become more numerous, and they include several blocks of tenements. Between Kennington Park Road and Walworth Road in the south-western part of Bermondsey the houses are generally of more modern build and are inhabited mainly by families of the skilled working class.

The percentage of persons living in poverty (13.5), while lower than for some boroughs in the Eastern Survey Area, is the highest recorded for any borough in the Western Area.

The percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 35 compared with 25 in the Survey Area as a whole. Accord-

ing to the 1931 Census 6·2 per cent. of persons in private families in Southwark were living more than three to a room. This percentage is only exceeded in five other boroughs in the whole Survey Area. For the whole area the percentage is 3·3.

Southwark has within its borders several badly overcrowded areas, one of the worst being Collinson Street and Scovell Road, between Blackfriars Road and Borough High Street, where there are old tenement blocks. In this area and in Milcote Street and Little Surrey Street there are evidences of degradation as well as of poverty. Another poor and overcrowded area is Tiverton Street and Tarn Street near Newington Causeway. St. Gabriel Street off Newington Butts, together with Longville Road and Dante Road in the same neighbourhood, probably forms the blackest patch in Southwark.

Of the population of Southwark in 1931 the proportion who were London-born was 84 per cent.

For the five years 1927-31 the mean yearly birth-rate per 1,000 of population was 18·1. This is a distinctly high rate and compares with 15·8 per 1,000 for the whole Survey Area. The death-rate (13·8 per 1,000) is also high, and is exceeded in only two of the thirty-seven boroughs in the Survey Area. The infant mortality rate is not abnormally high.

Of the 89,000 occupied persons living in Southwark in 1921, 51,000 worked in the City, Westminster and other places outside the borough, while 41,000 persons who lived elsewhere, chiefly in other south London boroughs, came into Southwark for their work.

The principal industries carried on in the borough are printing, the manufacture of stationery, and work in connection with the wharves and warehouses. There are also some engineering works. Of the occupied males resident in Southwark the largest group is that engaged in road, rail and water transport. In the case of female workers the most considerable group is that engaged in personal service (mainly domestic servants and charwomen).

There are 45 elementary schools with places for 31,500 children, 4 central schools, 2 secondary schools and a polytechnic institute. Southwark has 5 public libraries, one theatre or music-hall, 10 cinemas and 248 public-houses, or one to every 692 of the population.

The borough is ill provided with open spaces, which amount to a total area of 35 acres only. The largest is Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park (14½ acres) in the west, formerly the grounds of Bethlem Hospital. Most of the other spaces are playgrounds or gardens of an acre or less. The nearest spaces of any considerable size in neighbouring boroughs are Kennington Park and Peckham Rye, but they are far from the homes of the majority of the inhabitants of Southwark.

Southwark Cathedral, near London Bridge, formerly the church of the Priory of St. Mary Overy, dates from the twelfth century but has been much restored. Guy's Hospital has interesting buildings and the George Inn is a rare example of the old London galleried inns (rebuilt after fire in 1676).

# SOUTHWARK

401

## SOUTHWARK

Population in private families in 1929, 166,600 (estimated)

Tenants—Working-class	1,045	Working-class
Middle class	105	Families
Unknown status	34	Persons
		1,045
		3,641 (including 5 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family							Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			8 or more
	Number of Families									
1	96	27	14	13	6	2	—	—	158	5 6
2	40	103	81	50	41	16	11	7	349	9 0
3	12	78	78	63	40	13	9	14	307	11 1
4	—	24	40	37	32	19	17	16	185	13 6s
5	—	2	5	8	7	8	3	10	43	15 2
6 or more	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	3	22 6
Totals	148	234	219	171	126	59	41	47	1 045	10 2
	Separate Houses			Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub-Tenants
Rented	159			212		177		194		277
Owned	1			—		—		4		—
Free	5			2		2		—		—

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 11 cases of negative rent and 14 rent not stated

## II FARMERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

EARNING GROUPS							
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Farmers	Totals
<i>Number of Families</i>							
0	188	98	22	43	95	93	545
1	126	52	12	8	11	3	219
2	73	28	8	6	5	1	121
3	57	23	7	2	1	1	91
4	21	10	3	1	1	—	36
5 or more	13	15	5	—	—	—	33
Totals	478	233	57	66	113	98	1,045

## III FARMERS AND NON FARMERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Num-ber	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	28	59	65 and over	13	105	5 to 14	697	Earners 1 666
			18 to 65	—	—	3 to 5	146	Non earners 1 971
20 to 65	944	15	Wives	119	700	0 to 3	179	
18 to 20	71	—	Others	269	33			
16 to 18	68	3	16 to 18	57	4			
14 to 16	56	16	14 to 16	41	14			
Totals	1 167	93	Totals	499	856	Total	1 022	Total 3 637

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)													
Income Range	Over Not over	0	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7	122/7	132/7
Families	Number	129	42	61	220	145	106	71	54	127	49	16	1
Average rent	Shillings	6 6	9 1	9 3	9 8	11 35	10 8	11 7	12 6	12 6	12 8	10 2	—

Average Income 74s to 77s

<sup>1</sup> 25 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD.

	At Full-time Family Earnings.	In Week of Investigation.		At Full-time Family Earnings.	In Week of Investigation.	
Above standard :			Total above standard	937	899	
Amount known	925	887	Marginal	4	3	
Amount unknown :			Below standard :			
Certainly above	9	9	Certainly	79	118	
Probably above	3	3	Probably	—	—	
	937	899		1,020 <sup>1</sup>	1,020 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard.	0s. to 10s.	10s. to 20s.	20s. to 40s.	40s. to 80s.	80s. or more.	Totals.
Full Time	77	149	348	276	75	925
Week of Investigation	92	158	331	248	58	887

<sup>1</sup> 25 families excluded because of insufficient information.

## VI. PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE.

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full-time Family Earnings; (b) in Week of Investigation.

Ages.	Males over 14 Years.			Females over 14 Years.			Children under 14 Years.		
	All.	(a)	(b)	All.	(a)	(b)	All.	(a)	(b)
65+	83	15	17	113	32	33	Ages 5 to 14 years:		
18 to 65	1,014	26	68	1,098	44	81	696	57	98
16 to 18	71	3	3	60	3	4	Ages 0 to 5 years:		
14 to 16	72	3	4	55	2	3	322	24	51
Totals	1,240	47	92	1,326	81	121	1,018	81	149

GRAND TOTAL: Persons, 3,584. Below standard, (a) 209. (b) 362.

## VII. CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY.

	Families.	Persons.		Families.	Persons.
Old age	39	42	Full-time wages insufficient:		
Incapacity	—	—	(a) Enough for 1 child:		
No male adult earner	20	46	dren; but more		
Casual work	7	38	then 3		47
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	36	148	(b) Not enough for 3:		
Illness <sup>1</sup>	7	7	3 or less	4	14
			More than 3	3	20
Carried forward	105	281	Total	118	362

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation.

## VIII. STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION.

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only).

	Number of Persons.					Percentage.				
	P	U	S	M	Totals.	P	U	S	M	Totals.
Blue										
Purple with Blue Stripe	5,230	6,300	2,600	170	14,300	3.1	3.8	1.6	0.1	8.6
Purple	9,980	39,660	20,060	700	70,400	6.0	23.8	12.0	0.4	42.2
Pink	6,840	15,580	51,580	2,000	76,000	4.1	9.3	31.0	1.2	45.6
Pink with Red Stripe	450	960	2,760	1,730	5,900	0.3	0.6	1.6	1.1	3.6
Red										
Totals	22,500	62,500	77,000	4,600	166,600	13.5	37.5	46.2	2.8	100.0

## FULHAM

Population (1891 . . . . .)	91,790	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	94
1927 . . . . .	157,938	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	21
1931 . . . . .	150,940	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	7.2
Area (acres) . . . . .	1,706	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	25.4
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	15.3	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	66.4
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	12.0	Ditto (1911) . . . . .	66.1
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	69	Ditto (1881) . . . . .	68.9
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	47		

The borough of Fulham occupies a flat area lying to the south-west of the adjoining boroughs of Chelsea and Kensington. A loop of the Thames forms the boundary on the south and west and the borough of Hammersmith on the north-west.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the growth of Fulham was slow, and even in Charles Booth's time a broad belt of meadow land separated the part that had been built upon from the river. In the latter half of the century, however, building proceeded rapidly and almost all of the area has now been developed. The population, which had increased in the forty years 1891-1921 from 92,000 to 158,000, showed a fall to 151,000 in 1931.

The principal business and shopping thoroughfare is Fulham Road, which follows a winding course from Chelsea towards Putney Bridge. Among the shopping roads may be mentioned North End Road, which runs from Fulham Road northward, Dawes Road in the heart of the borough, and Munster Road nearer the western boundary. There is a street market in North End Road.

Immediately adjoining the river are Bishop's Park, a football ground, and the grounds of Hurlingham House. The remainder of the river-bank is occupied by wharves, factories and oil depots. Apart from these the borough is residential in character. There are middle-class roads in the neighbourhood of Eel Brook Common and Hurlingham in the south-east, and north-west of Bishop's Park. There is also a middle-class district in the northern part of the borough near the Kensington and Hammersmith boundaries. Most of the central part of Fulham consists of working-class streets and some of the poorest are in this district, notably Heckford Place and Rock Avenue, where there is much overcrowding. A criminal element exists in Lodge Avenue, Rickett Street and Langford Road.

For the borough as a whole the proportion of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 21 per cent., as against 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area. The proportion of the population living in poverty is 7.2 per cent. as compared with 9.5 per cent. for the whole Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate for the period 1927-31 was 15.3 per 1,000 of population, while the death-rate was 12.0 per 1,000. The infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births, for the same period, was rather high

(69), and was exceeded in only 5 other boroughs out of the 37 in the Survey Area.

Of the 74,000 occupied persons living in Fulham in 1921 nearly 60 per cent. (44,000) worked in Westminster, Kensington and other places outside the borough. The number of persons who worked in Fulham but lived elsewhere was much smaller (12,000). There are various factories—most of them by the river-side—where biscuits, brewers' sugar, margarine, metal polish, wallpaper and other articles are produced. There are also extensive petrol depots where the making and filling of petrol cans are carried on. The largest occupational group for male workers resident in Fulham in 1921 was transport (road and rail), followed by commerce (salesmen, shopkeepers, etc.) and the building trades. Over one-third of the occupied women and girls were in the group "personal service" (domestic servants, laundry workers and others).

The proportion of London-born inhabitants of Fulham in 1931 was 66 per cent. Those born elsewhere in the British Isles amounted to 31 per cent. and in foreign countries less than 2 per cent.

Education is provided in 25 elementary schools with accommodation for 22,700 children. There are also 4 central schools and 2 secondary schools.

There are 3 public libraries, 2 theatres or music-halls, 6 cinemas and 71 public-houses or one for every 2,126 of the population. Only one borough in the County of London shows a larger number of persons per public-house, viz. Lewisham, with 2,244.

The borough is not well provided with open spaces, their total area amounting to only 71 acres, or less than 5 per cent of the area of the borough. The largest space is Bishop's Park (22 acres) bordering the river. South Park (21 acres) is also near the river, while the smaller expanses of Eel Brook Common and Lillie Road Recreation Ground lie farther north.

The most important building of historical interest in Fulham is the Bishop of London's palace near the river-side, a part of which dates from the time of Henry VII.

# FULHAM

405

## FULHAM

Population in private families in 1929, 147,600 (estimated)

Sample: Tenements—	Working class	857	Working class	
	Middle class	319	Families	857
	Unknown status	82	Persons	2 900 (including 19 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT									
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family							Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more		
	Number of Families								
1	49	13	10	8	1	—	—	82	6 5
2	25	53	38	17	9	3	1	147	9 8
3	22	123	106	82	34	21	9	402	12 2
4	1	18	39	49	32	18	8	177	14 2
5	—	3	4	11	8	5	3	40	16 8
6 or more	—	—	1	2	2	1	1	9	20 8
Totals	97	210	138	110	86	50	25	857	12 9
	Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors	Sub Tenants	
Rented	115		132		—		141	185	
Owned	11		—		—		21	—	
Free	3		3		—		—	1	

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 4 cases of negative rent and 20 rent not stated

II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN							
Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	
	Number of Families						
0	169	105	15	12	70	61	460
1	118	39	5	12	15	2	191
2	80	34	—	6	4	4	130
3	21	11	1	—	2	—	38
4	12	8	—	—	1	—	21
5 or more	10	6	1	—	—	—	17
Totals	410	205	24	51	92	75	857

III FARMERS AND NON EARNERS									
Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals	
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Num ber		
Number of Persons									
65 and over	21	38	65 and over	11	79	5 to 14	470	Farmers 1 350 Non earners 1 531	
20 to 65	806	23	18 to 65	75	619	3 to 5	100		
18 to 20	49	1	Wives	216	29	0 to 3	132		
16 to 18	54	6	Others	59	1				
14 to 16	38	15	16 to 18	21	18				
Totals	968	83	Totals	382	746	Total	702	Total 2,881	

IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT													
(Shillings per Week)													
Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/-	34/1 42/6	42/7 52/7	52/7 62/6	62/7 72/7	72/7 82/7	82/7 92/7	92/7 102/7	102/7 112/7	112/7 122/7	122/7 and over	Total and Average
Families Average rent	Number	89	28	60	151	132	105	61	46	104	45	26	847 <sup>1</sup>
	Shillings	7 6	8 3	11 0	10 6	12 2	13 4	13 2	13 2	13 3	14 6	14 4	11 9

Average Income 78s to 81s

<sup>1</sup> 10 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V. FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation				
Above standard			Total above standard	807	In Week of Investigation	781
Amount known	786	760	Marginal	1		2
Amount unknown			Below standard			
Certainly above	17	17	Certainly	37		63
Probably above	4	4	Probably	1		1
	807	781		847 <sup>1</sup>		847 <sup>1</sup>
Amount above Standard	05 to 10s	10s to 20s	20s to 40s	40s to 80s	80s or more	Totals
Full Time Week of Investigation	77 91	117 170	237 385	220 215	75 59	786 760

<sup>1</sup> 10 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at full time family earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All (a)	(b)	All (a)	(b)	All (a)	(b)
6-10	49	6	50	21	Agree to 14 years	
11 to 15	86	5	95	1	405	41
16 to 18	60	1	57	1	Agree to 5 years	
14 to 16	5-	2	39	1	32	22
Totals	1039	14	1111	43	477	63

GRAND TOTAL Persons 8,17 Below standard (a) 85 (b) 119

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF IDLENESS

	Families	Persons	Full time wages in week of investigation		Families	Persons
Old age	18	1	(a) Enough for child			
Incapacity	1	2	ren but not			
No male adult earner	13	28	that 3			19
Casual work			(b) Not enough for 3			
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	20	63	3 or less	1		2
Illness <sup>1</sup>	6	20	More than 3			14
Carried forward	58	134	Totals	64		169

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private families only)

Number of Persons						Percentage					
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals	
Blue											
Purple with Blue Stripes	2 530	2 580	680	10	580	17	17	05	—	39	
Purple	3 020	13 860	7 420	100	24 400	20	94	50	01	165	
Pink	4 490	13 940	57 700	2 570	80 100	31	108	387	17	343	
Pink with Red Stripes	260	1 790	8,580	870	12 900	02	08	58	20	88	
Red	300	1 530	4 620	17 950	24 400	02	11	31	121	165	
Totals	10 600	35 100	78,400	23 500	147 600	72	238	531	139	10000	



## HAMMERSMITH

Population { 1891 . . . . .	97,283	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	98
1921 . . . . .	130,295	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	22
1931 . . . . .	135,521	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	7.2
Area (acres) . . . . .	2,287	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	22.8
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	15.9	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	61.1
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	12.4	Ditto (1911) . . . . .	61.3
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	65	Ditto (1881) . . . . .	56.3
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 of inhabitants . . . . .	205		

The borough of Hammersmith extends from the River Thames on the south to the borough of Willesden on the north. On the west it is bounded by Acton and Brentford and Chiswick, on the east by Kensington and on the south-west by Fulham. The population, which was 97,000 in 1891, has steadily increased and was 136,000 in 1931.

A wide and busy thoroughfare (Hammersmith Road—the Broadway—King Street) runs through the borough from the Kensington border in the east to the Chiswick border in the west. Between this road and the river is the older part of Hammersmith, where there are some houses built in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. North of the road the buildings are more modern. Generally speaking, the working-class quarters are in the eastern part of the borough and middle-class houses in the west, but there is no dividing-line, and, for example, there are many working-class houses and tenement blocks of a good type in the Old Oak and Wormholt Park estates near the western border.

The principal shopping and business thoroughfares are Uxbridge Road, King Street, Hammersmith Road and Broadway, Goldhawk Road and Shepherd's Bush Road. There are street markets in Norland Road, King Street and at Shepherd's Bush.

Near the river there are some picturesque old alleys where there is some overcrowding. These slums are in process of being replaced by blocks of dwellings erected by the Borough Council. In the heart of the borough is an area of nineteenth-century working-class streets lying between King Street and Goldhawk Road, some of which approach slum conditions, while, near the eastern border of Hammersmith, Rayleigh Road is marked by poverty and degradation.

In 1931, 61 per cent. of the population of Hammersmith were London-born, while 36 per cent. were born in other parts of the British Isles. The remaining 3 per cent. were born abroad.

The proportion of persons living in poverty is 7.2 per cent. as compared with 9.5 per cent. for the whole Survey Area. Overcrowding in the borough is not very pronounced. The percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 22 as against 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate for the five years 1927-31 was 15.9 and the death-rate 12.4 per 1,000 of population. For the same period the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 65. None of these rates were exceptionally high.

According to the 1921 Census 32,000 inhabitants of Hammersmith worked outside the borough, while the number who worked in Hammersmith but lived elsewhere was 29,000. No productive industries on any considerable scale are carried on in the borough. There are confectionery works in the south, and some bedding and engineering works and extensive railway sidings in the north. A considerable number of the occupied male population are engaged in connection with road and railway transport and in commercial occupations (salesmen, etc.), while the largest class for women and girls is personal service (domestic servants and laundry workers).

Hammersmith has 27 elementary schools accommodating 19,000 children, one central and 6 secondary schools, including St. Paul's Schools for boys and girls. There are 5 public libraries, 4 theatres or music halls, 10 cinemas and the well-known exhibition building called Olympia with a frontage in Hammersmith Road. There are 105 public-houses, or one to every 1,291 of the population.

Open spaces cover 278 acres or 12 per cent. of the total area of the borough. The largest are Wormwood Scrubs and Little Wormwood Scrubs in the north (215 acres) and Ravenscourt Park (32 acres) in the south. In this park there is an eighteenth-century house which is now used as a public library. There are some fine old houses, too, on the river-side promenade called the Upper Mall.

# HAMMERSMITH

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## HAMMERSMITH

Population in private families in 1929, 126,900 (estimated)

Sample: Tenements—	Working class	634	Working-class	
	Middle class	237	Families	634
	Unknown status	102	Persons	2 245 (including 15 lodgers)

I. SIZE OF FAMILY, HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	43	14	9	6	2	—	—	—	74	7 5
2	13	41	35	23	8	3	4	—	127	10 25
3	13	52	47	41	21	11	8	5	198	12 25
4	3	21	41	35	28	13	5	6	150	15 55
5	—	4	9	19	13	8	5	10	68	18 7
6 or more	—	—	5	2	1	6	—	3	17	45 4
Totals	70	132	146	121	73	41	22	44	634	13 1
	Separate Houses			Divided Houses			Blocks of Flats		Sub Tenants	Sub Tenants
Rented	127			165			40		115	155
Owned	3			—			—		14	—
Free	1			—			—		—	—

<sup>1</sup> Including 7 cases of negative rent and 17 rent not stated

II. EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN							
EARNING GROUPS							
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
Number of Families							
0	120	82	19	23	47	37	328
1	82	37	7	6	9	3	144
2	61	20	8	1	2	3	95
3	20	8	2	3	3	—	36
4	8	9	—	—	—	—	17
5 or more	6	6	—	—	—	—	14
Totals	297	162	36	33	64	43	634

III. EARNERS AND NON-EARNERS							
Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children	
Age	Earners	Non-earners	Age	Earners	Non-earners	Age	Number
Number of Persons							
65 and over	19	30	65 and over	4	63	5 to 14	390
20 to 65	627	10	18 to 65	75	441	3 to 5	81
18 to 20	52	—	Wives	198	—	0 to 3	90
16 to 18	33	3	Others	28	5		
14 to 16	25	5	14 to 15	22	15		
Totals	756	48	Totals	317	548	Total	561
							Total 2,230

IV. FULL-TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT													
(Shillings per Week)													
Income Range	Over Not over	0	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7	122/7	132/7 and over
Families	Number	55	17	41	112	76	67	44	35	91	48	23	609 <sup>1</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	6 8	11 2	10 3	11 6	13 0	14 1	13 25	15 6	15 5	16 2	16 3	13 1

Average Income 84s to 87s

<sup>1</sup> 25 families excluded because amount of income is not stated.

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V. FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

	Number of Families					
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	Total above standard	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	
Above standard						
Amount known	576	550		576	552	
Amount unknown			Marginal	4	5	
Certainly above	2	2	Below standard			
Probably above	—	—	Certainly	27	52	
	—	—	Probably	—	—	
	578	552		609 <sup>1</sup>	609 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	05 to 10s	10s to 15s	05 to 40s	40s to 80s	80s or more	Totals
Full Time Week of Investigation	48	93	139	161	75	576
	55	92	138	147	58	550

<sup>1</sup> 5 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) At Full time Family Earnings (b) In Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)
65—	46	4	7	3	8	10
18 to 65	118	9	36	70	1	4
16 to 18	34	—	4	33	1	—
14 to 16	50	—	1	35	1	—
Totals	778	13	48	931	31	64

GRAND TOTAL PERSONS = 159 Below standard (a) 71 (b) 115

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons	Full time wages insufficient	Families	Persons
Old age	8	9	(a) Enough for basic	—	—
Incapacity	1	2	rent but more than 1	1	7
No male adult earner	10	27	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	4	22
Casual work	1	2	More than 3	1	7
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	19	71		—	—
Illness <sup>1</sup>	6	46		—	—
Carried forward	45	131	Totals	—	168

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigationVIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue	760	1 230	490	20	2 500	0 6	1 0	0 4	0 0	2 0
Purple with Blue Stripe	4 010	20 210	10 40	140	34 600	3 2	15 9	8 1	0 1	27 3
Purple	3 550	9 370	48 60	3 420	14 600	2 8	7 4	38 0	2 7	50 9
Pink	450	900	6 610	1 740	9 700	0 3	0 7	5 2	1 4	7 6
Pink with Red Stripe	430	1,390	3 900	9 780	15 500	0 3	1 1	3 1	7 7	12 2
Red	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	9 200	33 100	69 500	15 100	126 900	7 2	26 1	54 8	11 9	100 0

## ISLINGTON

Population { 1891 . . . . .	319,155	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . .	109
1921 . . . . .	330,737	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . .	32
1931 . . . . .	321,712	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	9.6
Area (acres) . . . . .	3,092	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	32.4
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . .	17.5	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	75.9
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . .	23.0	Ditto (1911) . . . . .	74.1
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	65	Ditto (1881) . . . . .	63.2
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	14		

Islington, one of the largest London boroughs, extends from Finsbury and Shoreditch on the south to Hornsey on the north. It is bounded by St. Pancras on the west and by Hackney and Stoke Newington on the east. The population, which was 319,000 in 1891, rose to 335,000 in 1901 but had declined to 322,000 in 1931. There is only one London borough with a larger population, viz. Wandsworth.

The borough is mainly residential in character. A fairly accurate guide to the social character of the houses is afforded by the elevation of the ground upon which they are built, the higher social grades being concentrated on and around the hills of Highbury, Canonbury, Holloway and Tufnell Park. The working-class quarters lie mainly in the south-western part of the borough. Many of those in the extreme south consist of once comfortable but now decayed eighteenth-century houses, but farther north the houses are of more modern construction.

The principal business and shopping thoroughfares are Upper Street, with its north-westerly continuation Holloway Road, part of Camden Road and Seven Sisters Road, and Essex Road. There are street markets in Greenham Street and Popham Road near Essex Street and also in Holloway Road, while at Caledonian Market stall-holders assemble in large numbers on Tuesdays and Fridays for the sale of a very miscellaneous variety of goods.

There is a dense belt of slums near Essex Road centring on Popham Street, where there is considerable overcrowding and some criminal elements. Another bad patch (Bemerton Street and streets running off it) lies between Caledonian Road and a railway goods depot. Queensland Street is the centre of a third district marked by poverty and degradation and hemmed in by lines of railway. There are other patches of poverty, overcrowding and degradation in the borough—one as far north as the neighbourhood of Seven Sisters Road, where Campbell Road is one of the worst streets in London.

London-born persons accounted for 76 per cent. of the population of Islington in 1931. Of the remainder, 22 per cent. were born in other parts of the British Isles and 2 per cent. abroad.

The percentage of persons living in poverty (9.6) is about the same as that shown for the Survey Area as a whole (9.5 per cent.). As regards overcrowding, 32 per cent. of persons in working-class families live two or more to a room as compared with 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area. The proportion of persons in private families living more than

three to a room is 4·8 per cent. This proportion is exceeded in only two others of the outer boroughs. The percentage for the whole Survey Area is 3·3.

The birth-rate per 1,000 of population, taking the mean of the five years 1927-31, is 17·5. The death-rate is 13·0 per 1,000, and the rate of infant mortality per 1,000 live births 65. These rates are all higher than those for the County of London, which are 15·8, 12·5 and 64 respectively.

In 1921 there were 161,000 occupied persons resident in Islington, but of these 91,000 worked elsewhere, chiefly in adjoining boroughs and in the City and Westminster. The number that worked in Islington but lived elsewhere was 32,000. It would thus appear that Islington is, in the main, a dormitory area. Among the occupations of the male inhabitants of the borough in 1921 transport took first place, followed by commerce (shopkeepers, salesmen, etc.) and metal workers of various descriptions. The chief occupation for female workers was personal service (domestic servants, charwomen and laundry workers), the next in order of importance being workers in textile materials (dressmaking and tailoring).

Education is provided in 52 elementary schools with places for 44,600 children, 4 central schools and 4 secondary schools. There are 4 public libraries, 3 theatres or music-halls, 15 cinemas and 307 public-houses, equal to one public-house for every 1,048 of the inhabitants. A notable feature of Islington is the Royal Agricultural Hall where important cattle, dog and other shows are held.

Islington is very sparsely provided with open spaces, which cover 46 acres, or only 1·5 per cent. of the area of the borough. Of these 46 acres 28 are occupied by Highbury Fields in the northern part of Islington. The remainder are divided among about a dozen small grounds in various parts of the borough ranging from one of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres down to gardens of less than half an acre in extent.

The building of greatest historical and architectural interest in the borough is Canonbury Tower, a sixteenth-century relic of the country house of the Priors of St. Bartholomew.

# ISLINGTON

413

## ISLINGTON

Population in private families in 1929, 311,500 (estimated)  
 Sample: Tenements—Working-class 2,042  
 Middle class 568  
 Unknown status 207  
 Working class Families 2,042  
 Persons 6,953 (including 25 lodgers)

SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	155	100	45	17	14	4	3	1	339	6 1
2	47	224	183	88	48	28	16	13	647	10 3
3	20	158	137	119	77	34	15	22	582	13 0
4	2	37	106	93	44	28	5	18	331	14 9
5	1	6	11	20	26	18	10	19	111	16 6
6 or more	1	3	4	3	5	4	4	8	32	21 9
Totals	226	528	486	340	211	116	53	81	2 042	11 5
	Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub Tenants	
Rented	113		677		177		346		660	
Owned	12						48			
Free	6		9		6				2	

<sup>1</sup> Including 14 cases of negative rent and 36 rent not stated

## II FARMERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

FARMING GROUPS							
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
Number of Families							
0	394	161	73	55	169	153	1 005
1	305	99	36	9	37	4	490
2	184	52	17	15	15	3	286
3	89	38	7	2	5	2	143
4	33	20	5	3	7	1	69
5 or more	18	29		1	1	1	49
Totals	1,023	398	138	85	234	164	2,042

## III FARMERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Num ber	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	29	79	65 and over	8	159	1 to 14	1 322	Earners 3,102
			18 to 65			15 to 17	96	Non Earners 3,826
20 to 65	1 834	36	Wives	281	1 452	18 to 20	327	
18 to 20	99	5	Others	457	57			
16 to 18	105	4	16 to 18	100	12			
14 to 16	84	27	14 to 16	85	40			
Totals	2 171	151	Totals	931	1 730	Total	1,945	Total 6,928

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)												
Income Range	Over Not over	34/-	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7	122/7
Families	Number	228	86	151	314	291	250	170	110	194	83	47
Average rent	Shillings	6 6	9 3	9 8	10 5	11 9	12 8	13 3	13 4	13 6	14 55	16 8
												11 5

Average Income 745 to 775

<sup>1</sup> 128 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V. FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW STANDARD EARNINGS						
Number of Families						
	At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation		At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	
Above standard			Total above standard	1,797	1,731	
Amount known	1,745	1,680	Marginal	11	12	
Amount unknown			Below standard			
Certainly above			Certainly	114	179	
Probably above			Probably	2	2	
	1,797	1,731		1,924 <sup>1</sup>	1,924 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	05 to 105	105 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Totals
Full Time	220	272	652	464	137	1,745
Week of Investigation	226	266	631	428	129	1,680

<sup>1</sup> 118 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) At Full time Family Earnings, (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
64-	102	26	28	150	33	34	Ages 5 to 14 years	129	153
18 to 65	1,904	37	93	2,118	78	143	Ages 0 to 5 years	61	62
16 to 18	105	3	6	111	2	5			
14 to 16	109	5	10	133	6	14			
Totals	2,220	71	137	2,511	119	196	1,906	113	215

GRAND TOTAL Persons 66,8 Below standard (a) 303 (b) 546

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons	Full time wages insufficient	Persons
Old age	46	51	(a) Not enough for 3 or more	14
Incapacity	5	11	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	41
No male adult earner	40	117	More than 3	12
Casual work	10	57		
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	55	205		
Illness <sup>1</sup>	10	40		
Carried forward	166	481	Totals	548

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue Stripe	8,770	15,170	5,450	210	29,600	28	49	17	0.1	9.5
Purple	10,440	56,780	33,270	810	101,400	34	182	107	0.2	32.5
Pink	8,870	15,840	107,480	4,230	136,400	28	51	34.5	1.4	43.8
Pink with Red Stripe	1,040	770	12,540	3,050	17,400	0.4	0.2	4.0	1.0	5.6
Red	580	1,660	4,560	19,900	26,700	0.2	0.5	1.5	6.4	8.6
Totals	29,800	90,200	163,300	28,200	311,500	9.6	28.9	52.4	9.1	100.0



## ST. PANCRAS

Population	{ 1891 . . . . . 235,345	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . . 109
	{ 1921 . . . . . 211,366	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . . 33
	{ 1931 . . . . . 198,111	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . . 12.8
Area (acres)	. . . . . 2,694	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1880) . . . . . 30.4
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 14.6	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . . 66.7
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 13.2	Ditto (1911) . . . . . 68.1
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 70	Ditto (1881) . . . . . 60.6
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 of inhabitants	. . . . . 256	

The borough of St. Pancras extends from that of Holborn on the south to Hornsey on the north. It is bounded on the west by St. Marylebone and Hampstead and on the east by Finsbury and Islington. The population, which was 235,000 in 1891 and 1901, afterwards showed a decline at each succeeding Census until in 1931 it was 198,000 only.

One of the main features of the borough is its importance as a railway centre. Three great termini (St. Pancras, Euston and King's Cross) are near each other in the Euston Road, and they largely determine the character and occupations of the population in a considerable portion of the borough. In the Bloomsbury district, south of Euston Road, there are numerous residential squares, hotels and boarding-houses, while in Camden Town, Somers Town and Kentish Town, north of Euston Road, there is a considerable working-class quarter inhabited by railway workers and others. Much of the northern part of the borough consists of open spaces (Parliament Hill and Ken Wood), and in the neighbourhood of these spaces there are good residential roads. Among the more important shopping streets are Tottenham Court Road in the south, Hampstead Road, High Street, Camden Town, and Kentish Town Road. There are street markets in Queen's Crescent, Chalton Street and Scaton Street.

In the southernmost part of the borough there is some poverty in the district to the west of Tottenham Court Road, with some criminal elements in Whitfield Street, Howland Street and Tottenham Street among others, while poverty and crime are associated in Sidmouth Street, Cromer Street and Harrison Street near Gray's Inn Road. In the Somers Town district there are several poor and overcrowded streets. Ossulston Street in this district is in process of conversion by the London County Council into blocks of tenements. Farther north there are areas where poverty prevails, notably in a group of streets in Kentish Town, where in Litcham Street particularly poverty and overcrowding are associated with crime and degradation. In both these areas the St. Pancras House Improvement Association is actively engaged in slum reclamation.

In the year 1931, 67 per cent. of the population of St. Pancras were born in London and 28 per cent. were born elsewhere in the British Isles. Nearly 4 per cent. were born in foreign countries. Of the 7,200 foreigners 1,400 were Russians and Poles (mostly Jews) and 1,400 were Italians. Some of the remainder were doubtless visitors and students living for the time being at the numerous hotels, boarding-houses and hostels in the borough.

The proportion of persons living in poverty in St. Pancras (11.8 per cent.) is rather high and compares with 9.5 per cent. for the whole of the Survey Area. Overcrowding, too, is above the average. The percentage of numbers of working-class families living two or more to a room was 33 compared with 25 in the Survey Area as a whole. According to the 1931 Census 5.1 per cent. of persons in private families in St. Pancras were living more than three to a room as against 3.3 per cent. for the whole of the Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate for the period 1927-31 was 15.6 per 1,000 of population, or nearly the same as that for the County of London as a whole (15.8). The death-rate (13.2) was rather high, and the infant mortality rate (70 per 1,000 live births) was exceeded by only four others of the thirty-seven boroughs in the Survey Area.

Of 106,900 occupied persons living in St. Pancras in 1921, 51,200 worked outside the borough. On the other hand, 55,700 persons came into the borough for their daily work, and of these 11,700 came from Islington.

The Camden Town and Kentish Town districts form a centre of the pianoforte and furniture trades, but transport work is the chief class of occupation for male workers resident in St. Pancras. The next classes in order of importance are commerce (shopkeepers, salesmen, etc.) and personal service (domestic servants and waiters). Over a third of the occupied females are engaged in personal service.

There are 37 elementary schools providing places for 26,700 children, 6 central schools, 6 secondary schools (including the North London Collegiate School for Girls), and a polytechnic institute. University College (London University), the Working Men's College and the Royal Veterinary College are also situated in the borough. There are 2 public libraries, 5 theatres or music halls, 10 cinemas and 271 public-houses, or one for every 731 of the population.

St. Pancras has 506 acres of open spaces or nearly one-fifth of the total area of the borough. The largest are Parliament Hill and Ken Wood in the north and Regent's Park and Primrose Hill in the west. The total area of these is 938 acres, of which 462 are in St. Pancras. Waterlow Park (26 acres) at Highgate is also in the borough.

Kenwood House was built by the brothers Adam, and Highgate has some interesting old houses, including Lauderdale House in Waterlow Park. Otherwise St. Pancras is not rich in buildings of historical or architectural interest.

# ST. PANCRAS

417

## ST. PANCRAS

Population in private families in 1929, 181,400 (estimated)

Sample:	Tenements—Working class	1,305	Working-class	
	Middle class	303	Families	1,305
	Unknown status	98	Persons	4,129 (including 29 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	147	56	25	10	7	1	2	—	248	7 6
2	54	141	109	64	36	21	9	9	443	10 9
3	26	118	96	70	30	12	7	14	373	13 6
4	1	23	52	50	25	20	14	13	198	16 0
5	—	1	1	3	6	6	3	5	31	18 8
6 or more	—	1	—	2	—	2	—	6	11	21 2
Totals	228	340	283	205	104	62	35	47	1,304 <sup>2</sup>	12 0
		Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Tenants	Sub Tenants	
Rented		73		591		22		126	373	
Owned		7		2		1		47	1	
Free		—		—		—		—	—	

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 27 cases of negative rent and 25 rent not stated

<sup>2</sup> 1 family excluded because number of rooms is not stated

## II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

EARNING GROUPS							
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more (children)	Man and Wife (and children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
	Number of Families						
0	267	127	37	43	128	135	762
1	148	47	20	12	12	6	247
2	104	33	15	5	10	1	168
3	96	15	6	—	1	—	61
4	18	12	2	1	1	—	36
5 or more	14	14	1	1	1	—	31
Totals	607	250	81	69	155	143	1,304

## III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	37	68	65 and over	17	117	5 to 14	636	Earners 1,967
			18 to 64	171	815	15 to 17	147	Non earners 2,145
20 to 64	1,139	26	Wives	311	38	18 to 19	193	
18 to 20	62	2	Others	70	5	20 to 24		
16 to 18	72	4	16 to 17	32	25	25 to 29		
14 to 16	48	12	14 to 15			30 to 34		
Totals	1,353	111	Totals	609	1,000	Total	1,038	Total 4,111

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT (Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/1	34/1 42/6	42/6 52/6	52/6 67/6	67/6 72/6	72/6 82/6	82/6 92/6	92/6 102/6	102/6 112/6	112/6 122/6	122/6 132/6	132/6 142/6	142/6 152/6	152/6 162/6	162/6 172/6	172/6 182/6	182/6 and over	Total and Average
Families	Number	136	44	100	218	140	170	95	77	136	54	34	1,214 <sup>1</sup>						
Average rent	Shillings	7 1	10 4	10 6	11 5	12 3	13 5	13 2	13 6	13 9	14 7	15 1	12 0						

Average Income 75s to 78s

<sup>1</sup> 91 families omitted because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

		Number of Families					
		At full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation			At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation
Above standard				Total above standard		1,123	1,070
Amount known		1 113	1 061	Marginal		6	6
Amount unknown				Below standard			
Certainly above		8	7	Certainly		83	135
Probably above		2	2	Probably		2	3
		1 123	1 070			1 214 <sup>1</sup>	1 214 <sup>1</sup>
Amount above Standard		05 to 105	105 to 205	20 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Totals
Full Time		104	175	390	321	123	1 113
Week of Investigation		110	175	378	300	98	1 061

<sup>1</sup> 91 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

NUMBER OF PERSONS BY STANDARD GIVEN

(a) At Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)
65--	87	22	1	109	33	34
18 to 65	1 173	6	78	1 276	53	113
16 to 18	7	2	7	70	5	10
14 to 16	54	2	5	56	4	7
Totals	1 386	52	114	1 511	95	164

GRAND TOTAL Persons 3 905 Below standard (a) 28 (b) 438

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APARTMENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	41	43	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	1	5	(a) Enough for 3 children but more than 3	8	59
No male adult earner	24	75	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	6	20
Casual work	3	6	More than 3	7	14
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	51	100			
Illness <sup>1</sup>	2	10			
Carried forward	122	345	Totals	138	438

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSON OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue Stripes	5 410	7 070	3 010	210	15 700	30	39	17	01	87
Purple	6 890	27 940	14 120	950	49 900	38	154	78	05	275
Pink	7 570	15 250	56 550	3 830	83 200	42	84	311	21	458
Pink with Red Stripes	770	1 010	6 900	2 420	11 200	04	06	38	14	62
Red	660	1 830	4 920	13 990	21 400	04	10	27	77	112
Totals	21 300	53 100	85 500	21 500	181 400	118	293	471	118	1000

## CHELSEA

Population	{ 1891 . . . . . 72,954	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . . 74
	{ 1921 . . . . . 63,697	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . . 33
Area (acres)	{ 1931 . . . . . 59,026	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . . 4.5
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . . 12.8		Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . . 19.3
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . . 14.1		Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . . 53.7
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . . 55		Ditto (1911) . . . . . 56.3
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . . 59		Ditto (1881) . . . . . 56.1

Chelsea, one of the smaller London boroughs, lies between Kensington and Fulham on the north-west and west and Westminster on the north-east. Its southern boundary is the River Thames. The population, which reached its highest point (74,000) in 1901, showed a decline at each succeeding Census and was 59,000 in 1931.

In the eastern part of the borough and near the river on the south are districts of high-class residences and blocks of flats occupied by people who can afford to pay high rents. Behind these buildings there are meaner streets of mixed character varying from middle-class lodging-houses and residences to working-class cottages. King's Road is one of the main business and shopping thoroughfares. This road runs through the borough from east to west. Near the western part of this road are many artists' studios. Other important business roads are Fulham Road, which forms part of the boundary of the borough, and the upper part of Sloane Street. There is a small street market in Marlborough Road near Fulham Road.

There are many large blocks of working-class tenements in Chelsea, particularly in the northern part of the borough. In the south-west corner there is a small and overcrowded slum area including Riley Street and Milman Street, consisting mainly of eighteenth-century houses and, still farther to the south-west, a rather poor district stretching to the great power station in Lots Road. In another area in the northern part of Chelsea, between Sloane Street and Fulham Road, there is evidence of poverty and some overcrowding, especially in Little Orford Street. In the borough as a whole there is not much acute overcrowding, but the proportion of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 33 per cent. as compared with 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area.

In 1931 53.7 per cent. of persons living in Chelsea were London-born and 41.7 per cent. were born elsewhere in the British Isles. The remaining 4.6 per cent. were born in British countries overseas or in foreign countries.

The proportion of persons in Chelsea living in poverty in 1929 was 4.5 per cent. This is a lower proportion than is shown for 15 out of the 20 boroughs in the Western Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate for the five years 1927-31 was rather low (12.8 per 1,000). The death-rate, however (14.1 per 1,000), was high,

being exceeded by only one other borough in the Survey Area. The infant mortality rate for the same period was 55 per 1,000 live births.

According to the 1921 Census about 13,500 occupied persons living in Chelsea left the borough daily to work in Westminster, Kensington and elsewhere, while 17,000 persons who worked in Chelsea lived in other districts.

No manufactures of any importance are carried on in the borough, and the chief occupations of the male workers are in connection with transport, personal service (including domestic service) and commerce (shopkeepers, salesmen, etc.). Domestic service accounts for about one-half of the female workers. The next groups in order of importance are those of professional occupations (including teachers, nurses, etc.) and makers of textile goods (dressmakers, seamstresses, etc.).

Chelsea has 12 elementary schools with accommodation for 7,100 children, 3 central and 2 secondary schools. There is also a polytechnic, including a school of art and providing courses of instruction in physics, chemistry, and metallurgy, pharmacy and other subjects.

There is a public library in the borough, 2 theatres and 3 cinemas. The number of public-houses is 57, or one to every 1,036 of the inhabitants.

There is little provision of open spaces in Chelsea. The total area of such spaces is 35 acres, 30 of which are accounted for by the grounds of the Royal Hospital. Battersea Park, however, is within easy reach across the river on the south and Hyde Park is not far away on the north.

Chelsea abounds in interesting old houses. Foremost among its buildings of historical and architectural interest are Wren's Royal Hospital for Chelsea pensioners and Old Chelsea Church, which dates from the fourteenth century.

## 421

**Population in private families in 1929, 53 900 (estimated)**

I											SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT	
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more				
	Number of Families											
1	21	3	7	1	—	—	—	—	32	6 4		
2	4	17	11	12	7	7	1	—	59	11 1		
3	3	16	12	12	4	1	5	—	66	12 7		
4	1	6	11	6	6	1	2	2	35	14 7		
5	—	—	1	3	3	2	1	2	12	18 4		
6 or more	—	—	1	—	3	2	2	2	8	21 1		
Totals	7	42	47	34	28	17	11	6	212	10 3		
	Separate Houses			Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub Tenants		
Rented	21			31		64		28		36		
Owned	1			—		—		3		—		
Free	1			9		—		—		—		

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 4 cases of negative rent

Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	
0	28	24	2	6	25	19	104
1	30	15	2	3	1	—	51
2	15	5	—	2	1	1	24
3	11	3	4	—	1	1	20
4	4	3	3	—	—	—	10
5 or more	—	1	—	—	—	—	3
Totals	90	51	11	11	8	1	212

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	4	9	65 and over	7	7	5 to 14	132	Earners 353
20 to 65	189	2	18 to 65	Wives 23	146	3 to 5	4	Non earners 410
18 to 20	16	1		Others 66	9	0 to 3	44	
16 to 18	15	2	16 to 18	13	2			
14 to 16	9	4	14 to 16	11	8			
Totals	233	18	Totals	10	19	Total	200	total 763

Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/-	34/1 42/6	42/7 52/6	52/7 62/6	62/7 72/6	72/7 82/6	82/7 92/6	92/7 102/6	102/7 112/6	112/7 122/6	122/7 132/6	132/7 142/6	142/7 152/6	Total and Average
Families Average rent	Number	32	11	24	33	23	17	8	11	29	13	5			206 <sup>1</sup>
	Shillings	6 2	10 1	9 0	8 7	11 8	12 8	10 2	12 4	1. 8	11 7	19 3			10 3

**Average Income** 74s to 77s

<sup>a</sup> 6 families omitted because amount of income is not stated.

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD.

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation		At Full- time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation.	
Above standard			Total above standard	190	180	
Amount known	189	179	Marginal	2	2	
Amount unknown	—	—	Below standard			
Certainly above	—	—	Certainly	14	24	
Probably above	1	1	Probably	—	—	
	190	180		206 <sup>1</sup>	206 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	0s to 10s	10s to 20s	20 to 40s	40s to 80s	80s or more	Totals
Full Time	9	30	10	47	23	189
Week of Investigation	27	28	46	46	22	179

<sup>1</sup> 6 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) At full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All	(a)	All	(a)	All	(a)
65—	13	1	2	33	7	0
18 to 65	203	4	1	33	8	18
16 to 18	17	—	3	14	1	9
14 to 16	12	—	1	13	—	—
Totals	245	5	18	101	15	30
GRAND TOTAL	Persons 743		Below standard (a) 28		(b) 67	

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	1	6	Full time wages insufficient	—	—
Incapacity	—	—	(a) Not enough for subsistence	—	—
No male adult earner	5	10	(b) Not enough for less than 3	—	—
Casual work	1	7	(c) Not enough for more than 3	1	4
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	8	7		1	6
Illness	—	—		—	—
Carried forward	22	57	Total	24	67

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue	260	1 010	330	—	1 600	0.5	1.9	0.6	—	3.0
Purple with Blue Stripe	790	4 200	2 070	40	7 100	1.5	7.9	3.9	0.0	13.3
Purple	1,120	4 320	14 250	110	20 300	2.1	8.1	26.8	1.1	38.1
Pink	230	870	5 450	17 750	24 300	0.4	1.6	10.2	33.4	45.6
Pink with Red Stripe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Red	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	2,400	10 400	22,100	16 400	53 300	4.5	19.5	41.5	34.5	100.0



## HAMPSTEAD

Population { 1891 . . . . . 68,126	No of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . . 69
1921 . . . . . 86,153	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . . 19
1931 . . . . . 88,914	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . . 1.4
Area (acres) . . . . . 2,265	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . . 13.3
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . . 11.5	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . . 47.5
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . . 12.1	Ditto (1911) . . . . . 51.0
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . . 56	Ditto (1881) . . . . . 50.8
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . . 377	

The borough of Hampstead lies between Hendon and Finchley on the north and St. Marylebone on the south. On its western boundary is the borough of Willesden, and on its eastern boundary is the borough of St. Pancras. Its population, which was 68,000 in 1891, had increased to 82,000 in 1901. It has since grown, but at a slower rate, reaching 89,000 in 1931.

The borough is situated on rising ground culminating at Hampstead Heath, and is almost entirely residential in character. In Charles Booth's time Hampstead was somewhat inaccessible, but this has since been altered by the provision of additional railway, tramway and omnibus services.

Three main roads, roughly parallel, traverse the district from the north-west to the south and south-east. They are Shoot-Up Hill—High Road Kilburn on the west, Finchley Road in the middle, and High Street Hampstead—Rosslyn Hill—Haverstock Hill towards the east. Between these roads are residential thoroughfares containing good-class houses with ample gardens. Between the High Street and Hampstead Heath however there are some narrow streets, and there is a rather densely populated working-class area in the south-west near Kilburn High Road.

There is comparatively little poverty or overcrowding in Hampstead, but these conditions exist in small patches mostly in the older parts of the borough. Fairfax Place, near South Hampstead Station, and Fleet Road, near Hampstead Heath Station, are among the worst examples of such areas. In the Town Ward adjoining the Heath several old cottages have been converted in recent years into middle-class residences. Another area where there is some poverty and overcrowding is that centring on Netherwood Street and Palmerston Street in the south-western part of the borough, near Brondesbury Station.

Persons living in poverty formed in 1929 only 1.4 per cent. of the population—the lowest percentage for any borough in the Survey Area. As regards overcrowding, too, Hampstead occupies a fairly favourable position, the percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room being 19, as compared with 25 per cent. for the whole Survey Area.

In the year 1931 no more than 47.5 per cent. of the Hampstead population were London-born. Of the remainder, 43.5 per cent. were born elsewhere in the British Isles, 2.6 per cent. in British countries overseas

and 6.4 in foreign countries. The foreigners numbered 5,670, of whom 1,370 were born in Russia and Poland and were mostly Jews.

The birth-rate (mean of the five years 1927-31) is 11.5 per 1,000 of population. There are only two of the 37 boroughs in the Survey Area showing lower rates. The death-rate (12.1) is not exceptionally low. The infantile mortality rate per 1,000 live births is 56, a lower rate than for the majority of boroughs. The rate for the whole Survey Area is 64.

Of the 45,000 occupied persons resident in Hampstead in 1921 about 21,000 worked in the City, Westminster and other places outside the borough, while nearly 12,000 persons working in Hampstead lived elsewhere. There are no industries, apart from those common to residential areas, carried on in the borough, and the chief classes of occupations in 1921 were commerce (shopkeepers and their assistants), clerical work, and professional work (including teachers and nurses). In the case of women and girls domestic service accounted for one-half of the total number occupied.

Hampstead has 14 elementary schools with places for 6,300 children, one central school and 7 secondary schools, including University College School and Aske's (Haberdashers') School. There are 5 public libraries, 3 theatres or music-halls, 4 cinemas and 54 public-houses, or one to every 1,647 of the population.

The borough is well provided with open spaces, which cover 335 acres, or nearly 15 per cent. of the total area. The largest is Hampstead Heath in the north, with Parliament Hill and Ken Wood, parts of which are within the borough boundary. Primrose Hill in the borough of St. Pancras is easy of access for residents in the southern part of Hampstead, and there is a recreation ground of 8 acres in the south-western part of the borough.

Hampstead abounds in interesting private houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The houses in Church Row may be especially mentioned.

## 425

Population in private families in 1929, 79,000 (estimated)			
Sample:	Tenements—Working-class	289	Working class
	Middle class	563	Families
	Unknown status	10	Persons
			289 900 (including 22 lodgers)

I												SIZE OF FAMILY, HOUSING AND RENT											
Number of Rooms		Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more														
		Number of Families																					
1	24	14	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	43	9 8												
2	4	26	17	8	2	—	1	—	—	59	12 6												
3	9	36	37	18	14	6	1	2	—	123	16 8												
4	1	8	16	6	10	1	2	—	—	44	20 2												
5	—	1	1	4	1	2	—	1	—	10	26 9												
6 or more	—	—	3	—	1	2	1	3	—	10	31 0												
Totals	38	85	78	37	28	1	5	6	—	289	15 9												
		Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of flats		Sub Lessors		Sub Tenants													
Rented		19		137		13		21		74													
Owned		4		—		—		13		—													
Free		1		5		—		—		—													

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 4 cases of negative rmt and 5 rmt not stated

Number of Dependent Children	LARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earnings	
0	66	6	13	10	30	4	169
1	39	13	1	—	1	—	64
2	20	1	1	1	4	1	33
3	10	3	2	—	—	—	15
4	—	1	1	—	1	—	5
5 or more	2	—	1	—	—	—	3
Totals	133	41	11	11	41	47	289

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Farmers	Non farmers	Age	Farmers	Non farmers	Age	Number	
<i>Number of Persons</i>								
65 and over	6	14	65 and over	5	21	5 to 14	123	Farmers 416
20 to 65	242	3	18 to 65	47	189	3 to 5	24	Non farmers 462
18 to 20	8	1	Wives	70	20	0 to 3	39	
16 to 18	9	2	Others	17	4			
14 to 16	7	15	16 to 18	5	5			
Totals	272	35	Totals	144	239	Total	188	Total 878

<b>Income Range</b>	<b>Over Not over</b>	<b>0 34/</b>	<b>34/1 42/6</b>	<b>42/7 52/6</b>	<b>52/7 62/6</b>	<b>62/7 72/6</b>	<b>72/7 82/6</b>	<b>82/7 92/6</b>	<b>92/7 102/6</b>	<b>102/7 112/6</b>	<b>112/7 122/6</b>	<b>122/7 over</b>	<b>Total and Average</b>
<b>Families Average rent</b>	<b>Number</b>	29	8	19	45	36	44	31	2.	27	16	5	282 <sup>1</sup>
	<b>Shillings</b>	8 6	12 0	13 9	13 7	15 05	15 95	18 6	20 5	15 7	25 5	27 3	15 9

**Average Income** 77s to 80s

<sup>1</sup> 7 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V. FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD.

Number of Families.						
	At Full-time Family Earnings.	In Week of Investigation.		At Full-time Family Earnings.	In Week of Investigation.	
Above standard:			Total above standard	269	263	
Amount known	266	260	Marginal	1	3	
Amount unknown:			Below standard:			
Certainly above	2	2	Certainly	11	14	
Probably above	1	1	Probably	1	2	
	269	263		282 <sup>1</sup>	282 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard.	0s. to 10s.	10s. to 20s.	20s. to 40s.	40s. to 80s.	80s. or more.	Totals.
Full Time	27	38	88	85	28	266
Week of Investigation	30	37	85	80	28	260

<sup>1</sup> 7 families excluded because of insufficient information.

## VI. PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE.

NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN.

(a) At Full-time Family Earnings; (b) in Week of Investigation.

Ages.	Males over 14 Years.			Females over 14 Years.			Children under 14 Years.		
	All.	(a)	(b)	All.	(a)	(b)	All.	(a)	(b)
65+	19	2	2	23	1	2	Ages 5 to 14 years:		
18 to 65	253	5	9	320	12	18	120	10	9
16 to 18	10	1	1	20	1	1	Ages 0 to 5 years:		
14 to 16	21	2	2	10	1	1	63	2	2
Totals	303	10	14	373	15	22	183	12	11

GRAND TOTAL: Persons, 859. Below standard, (a) 37; (b) 47.

## VII. CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY.

	Families.	Persons.		Families.	Persons.
Old age	1	2	Full-time wages insufficient:		
Incapacity	1	4	(a) Enough for 3 children; but more	1	6
No male adult earner	6	10	than 3		
Casual work	1	9	(b) Not enough for 3:		
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	3	7	3 or less	2	6
Illness <sup>1</sup>	1	3	More than 3	—	—
Carried forward	13	35	Totals	16	47

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation.

## VIII. STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION.

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only).

	Number of Persons.					Percentage.				
	P	U	S	M	Totals.	P	U	S	M	Totals.
Blue	20	80	—	—	100	0.0	0.1	—	—	0.1
Purple with Blue Stripe	290	3,820	480	110	4,700	0.4	4.8	0.6	0.1	5.9
Purple	440	1,420	9,670	370	11,900	0.6	1.8	12.2	0.5	15.1
Pink	150	240	6,220	1,490	8,100	0.2	0.3	7.9	1.9	10.5
Pink with Red Stripe	200	1,340	7,630	45,030	54,200	0.2	1.7	9.7	57.0	68.6
Red										
Totals	1,100	6,900	24,000	47,000	79,000	1.4	8.7	30.4	59.5	100.0

## KENSINGTON

Population	{ 1891 . . . . .	170,071	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	76
	{ 1921 . . . . .	175,849	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	38
Area (acres)	{ 1931 . . . . .	180,681	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	7.9
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .		2,290	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	27.1
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .		14.5	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	50.8
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .		13.8	Ditto (1931) . . . . .	52.3
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .		77	Ditto (1881) . . . . .	43.8
		37		

The Royal borough of Kensington lies between the borough of Paddington and the City of Westminster on the north-east, Chelsea on the south-east, Fulham and Hammersmith on the south-west and Willesden on the north. Its population in 1931 was 181,000 as compared with 170,000 in 1891—an increase of 6 per cent. only in forty years.

The district lying south of Kensington High Street and known as South Kensington is mainly composed of large houses built about the middle of the nineteenth century and inhabited by well-to-do folk. Some large blocks of luxurious flats are in this district. Towards the west the character of the area changes, and tends generally towards lower middle and, in the back streets, working class. North of Kensington High Street as far as Holland Park Road and Notting Hill High Street there is a well-to-do residential district distinguished by houses with large gardens and great blocks of expensive flats.

North and west of Notting Hill High Street is a mixed middle- and working-class district, which in the Notting Dale region includes some of the most notorious slums in London. Since the War some new blocks and cottages have replaced slums in this region, but much of it is still bad. Bangor Street is one of the worst slums in London, and there is much overcrowding and poverty in that street and Crescent Street and Sirdar Road. All three of these streets contain a criminal element.

Another area distinguished by poverty and overcrowding is in the extreme north of Kensington, an isolated district lying between gasworks, railway lines and a canal. Southam Street and Bosworth Road are perhaps the worst in this area.

As regards overcrowding the proportion of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 38 per cent., a proportion exceeded in only six other boroughs. The percentage for the whole Survey Area is 25. The comparatively unfavourable position of Kensington is due entirely to the conditions in the Notting Dale and North Kensington districts described above. Owing to the same cause the proportion of persons in the borough living in poverty is as high as 7.9 per cent.

Some of the more important business and shopping thoroughfares are Brompton Road, Kensington High Street, Notting Hill High Street and Earl's Court Road. In the working-class districts there are street markets in Portobello Road, Colborne Road and Clarendon Road.

Not more than 50 per cent. of the population of Kensington in 1931

were London-born. Of the remainder, 42 per cent. were born elsewhere in the British Isles and 8 per cent. abroad.

Kensington's birth-rate, taking the mean of the five years 1927-31, is 14.5 per 1,000 of population—a lower rate than is shown by the majority of boroughs in the Survey Area. The death-rate, however, is high (13.8 per 1,000), only two other boroughs having higher rates, while the infantile mortality rate (77 per 1,000 live births) is exceeded by only one other borough, viz. Paddington.

At the time of the 1921 Census there were about 89,000 occupied persons resident in Kensington, of whom 34,000 worked in Westminster, the City or other places outside the borough. On the other hand, nearly 41,000 persons who lived elsewhere came into Kensington to work. There are no productive industries of any consequence in the borough, and the main classes of occupation followed by male workers are those connected with transport, commerce and personal service (including domestic service). More than one-half of the female workers in 1921 were engaged in domestic service.

Education is provided in 29 elementary schools with accommodation for 17,800 children, one central school and 5 secondary schools. The Royal College of Science, the Royal School of Mines, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Natural History Museum and the Science Museum are situated in the borough. There are 3 public libraries, one theatre or music-hall, 8 cinemas and 148 public-houses (one for every 1,221 of the inhabitants).

There are only 68 acres of open spaces within the borough of Kensington, but 55 of these form part of Kensington Gardens, which merge into Hyde Park, forming an ample expanse for dwellers in the eastern part of the borough. In the west, however, there are only two small recreation grounds.

Of the many important buildings situated in the borough the greatest historical interest attaches to Kensington Palace, which dates from the reign of William and Mary, and Holland House, built in the year 1607.

# KENSINGTON

429

## KENSINGTON

Population in private families in 1929 158 500 (estimated)  
 Sample: Tenements—Working class 484 Working class Families 484  
 Middle class 517 Families  
 Unknown status 62 Persons 1,641 (including 7 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	41	22	7	8	—	—	—	—	78	5 7
2	21	50	39	26	18	12	6	3	175	9 1
3	6	32	34	25	12	12	7	3	131	12 0
4	2	7	18	17	8	10	3	3	70	14 2
5	—	—	5	5	5	2	1	3	24	18 5
6 or more	—	1	1	1	—	2	1	—	6	22 8
Totals	70	112	104	84	43	41	18	12	484	10 1
	Separate Houses			Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub Tenants
Rented	—			—		9		40		89
Owned	32			278		—		12		—
Free	2			—		—		—		—
	—			13		—		—		—

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 6 cases of negative rent and 16 rent not stated

## II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN EARNING GROUPS

Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 16	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
	Number of Families						
0	91	51	17	14	49	36	258
1	47	25	20	5	10	—	107
2	29	15	11	—	4	—	61
3	10	9	4	2	2	—	27
4	13	4	4	—	—	—	21
5 or more	7	1	1	—	1	—	10
Totals	197	105	59	21	66	36	484

## III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals	
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number		
Number of Persons									
65 and over	24	14	65 and over	8	60	5 to 14	304	Earners	799
			18 to 65	—	—	3 to 5	49	Non earners	835
20 to 65	434	3	Wives	88	290	0 to 3	76		
18 to 20	22	—	Others	130	15				
16 to 18	26	2	16 to 18	27	1				
14 to 16	19	11	14 to 16	21	10				
Totals	525	30	Totals	274	376	Total	429	Total	1 634

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT (Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over Not over	0	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/6	102/7	102/6	112/7	112/6	122/7	122/6	Total and Average
Families	Number	75								31	51	22	14	469 <sup>1</sup>		
Average rent	Shillings	7 1								12 2	11 4	13 7	13 8	10 5		

Average Income 73s to 77s

<sup>1</sup> 15 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

		Number of Families					
		At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation			At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation
Above standard		420	403	Total above standard		425	408
Amount known				Marginal		1	3
Amount unknown				Below standard			
Certainly above		4	4	Certainly		42	57
Probably above		1	1	Probably		1	1
		45	408			469 <sup>1</sup>	469 <sup>1</sup>
Amount above Standard		05 to 105	105 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Totals
Full Time		58	73	10	11	42	420
Week of Investigation		65	71	125	109	33	403

<sup>1</sup> 15 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)
65+	38	6	48	17	18	
18 to 65	459	18	523	9	40	
16 to 18	8		8	1	1	
14 to 16	30	3	31	3	5	
Totals	555	27	650	30	69	

GRAND TOTAL Persons 134 Below standard (a) 136 (b) 187

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	15	20	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	2	8	(a) Enough for children but more than 3		43
No male adult earner	10	19	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	3	11
Casual work	7	35	More than 3		
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	10	12			
Illness <sup>1</sup>	5	19			
Carried forward	49	133	Totals	58	187

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue	6,740	4,340	1,200	20	12,300	43	27	08	00	78
Stripe										
Purple	2,560	13,330	8,270	240	24,400	16	84	52	02	154
Pink	1,820	5,980	20,750	1,350	29,900	11	38	13	08	188
Pink with Red										
Stripe	180	670	3,280	1,270	5,400	01	04	21	08	34
Red	1,200	2,680	11,300	71,320	86,500	08	17	71	45	546
Totals	12,500	27,000	44,800	74,200	158,500	79	170	283	468	1000



## PADDINGTON

Population {	1891	.	.	.	135,955	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931)	83
	1921	.	.	.	144,261	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30)	27
	1931	.	.	.	144,950	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30)	6.2
Area (acres)		.	.	.	1,357	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889)	21.5
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)		.	.	.	15.1	Percentage of persons born in London (1931)	50.5
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)		.	.	.	13.6	Ditto (1911)	55.1
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31)		.	.	.	86	Ditto (1881)	47.2
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants		.	.	.	69		

The borough of Paddington lies to the north of the City of Westminster and has Kensington on its west and St. Marylebone on its east, while it adjoins Willesden at the county boundary on the north. The population, which was 136,000 in 1891, increased to 144,000 in 1901 and has since shown little change at successive censuses. In 1931 it was 145,000.

By far the greater part of the borough is of a residential character, and there are two areas which can be described as fashionable, one in the south, facing Hyde Park, and the other running parallel to Maida Vale in the north. Between the high-class dwellings near the park and Bishop's Road and its continuation, Westbourne Grove, is a district of middle-class private hotels and boarding-houses with, here and there, mews and streets of small shops. Most of the houses in the southern part of Paddington date from the middle and latter half of the nineteenth century, but near Edgware Road there are some good examples of eighteenth-century terraces.

A triangular area lying north of Bishop's Road and Westbourne Grove and south of the Great Western Railway lines consists mainly of the cheaper variety of boarding-houses, and the buildings wear a comparatively neglected appearance. To the north of the railway are the Grand Junction Canal and the broad thoroughfare of Harrow Road, and in this neighbourhood there are many streets that have degenerated into poor-class dwellings, including some slums, notably Clarendon Street, Cirencester Street and Woodchester Street, where poverty and overcrowding are accompanied by crime and degradation.

North of Harrow Road and west of the Maida Vale district already mentioned the character of the houses deteriorates, until, in the north-western corner of the borough, a region of working-class cottages is reached.

Harrow Road, which zigzags from the north-west towards the south-east of Paddington, is one of the main business thoroughfares. Others are Edgware Road on the eastern boundary, and Praed Street, Westbourne Grove and Queen's Road towards the south. In the immediate neighbourhood of Praed Street, which forms the principal approach to Paddington Station, there is some overcrowding and poverty, particularly in Star Street, which is not without a criminal element.

As regards overcrowding, the proportion of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 27 per cent. or about the same as

for the whole Survey Area (25 per cent.). The census of 1931 shows that 4.1 per cent. of persons in private families in Paddington were living more than three to a room. The percentage for the whole of the Survey Area is 3.3. In the same year 51 per cent. of the inhabitants were born in London, 43 per cent. elsewhere in the British Isles and 6 per cent. abroad. Probably some of the latter were visitors only, staying in hotels and boarding-houses, and a few were resident Jews.

The mean yearly birth-rate for the period 1927-31 was 15.1 for 1,000 of population. The death-rate (13.6) was high, only four other boroughs of the 37 in the Survey Area showing higher rates, while the infantile mortality rate per 1,000 live births (86) was the highest for any borough.

Of the 74,000 occupied persons living in Paddington in 1921 the number who worked in Westminster, St. Marylebone, the City and elsewhere was 37,000. Persons whose work lay in the borough but who lived elsewhere numbered 23,000. The principal groups of occupations in which male workers resident in Paddington are engaged are transport by road and rail and commerce (shopkeepers, salesmen, etc.). More than half of the female workers are engaged in personal service (domestic servants, etc.).

Education is provided in 25 elementary schools with places for 15,400 children, 2 central schools and 2 secondary schools. There are 2 public libraries, one theatre or music-hall, 7 cinemas and 111 public-houses, or one to every 1,306 of the population.

Paddington has 100 acres of open spaces within the borough boundary. Of these 33 form Paddington Recreation Ground in the north and the other 67 acres are part of Kensington Gardens which, with Hyde Park, provide a large expanse of easy access to residents in the southern part of the borough.

# PADDINGTON

433

## PADDINGTON

Population in private families in 1929, 126,500 (estimated)

Sample : Tenements—Working-class	889	Working-class Families	889
Middle-class	527	Persons	2,375 (including 10 lodgers)
Unknown status	32		

### I. SIZE OF FAMILY, HOUSING AND RENT

Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings).
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	122	52	9	9	3	1	1	1	198	7 6
2	45	131	50	29	19	4	1	6	289	11 4
3	20	136	45	23	17	7	3	1	252	14 8
4	4	40	20	15	14	6	5	3	107	16 5
5	—	10	1	9	4	3	2	1	34	19 2
6 or more	—	1	3	2	1	—	—	—	9	12 3
Totals	191	370	132	67	58	21	16	14	889	
	Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub-Tenants	
Rented	55		571		4		39		157	
Owned	—		—		—		22		—	
Free	1		24		1		—		3	

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 12 cases of negative rent, and 16 rent not stated

### II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	
	Number of Families						
0	307	48	31	13	132	88	619
1	84	23	8	4	11	2	132
2	39	14	7	3	9	8	74
3	28	4	1	1	4	1	39
4	6	3	2	—	1	—	12
5 or more	6	4	3	—	—	—	13
Totals	470	96	52	21	151	99	889

### III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	20	28	65 and over	7	76	5 to 14	368	Earners 1,102
			18 to 65			1 to 5	71	Non earners 1,263
20 to 65	677	22	Wives	131	551	0 to 3	96	
18 to 20	18	—	Others	180	19			
16 to 18	22	1	16 to 18	19	—			
14 to 16	15	12	14 to 16	13	15			
Totals	752	63	Totals	350	601	Total	519	Total 2,365

### IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/-	34/1 42/6	42/7 52/6	52/7 62/6	62/7 72/6	72/7 82/6	82/7 92/6	92/7 102/6	102/7 112/6	112/7 122/6	122/7 132/6	Total and Average
Families	Number	140	67	111	193	116	85	53	36	57	13	9	880 <sup>1</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	7 8	10 6	11 8	12 9	13 0	13 9	14 9	14 9	15 2	14 2	22 2	12 3

Average Income 62s to 64s

<sup>1</sup> 9 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation				
Above standard			At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation		
Amount known	808	782	821	795		
Amount unknown			5	6		
Certainly above	9	9				
Probably above	4	4	34	79		
	821	795	880 <sup>1</sup>	880 <sup>1</sup>		
Amount above Standard	05 to 105	105 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Totals
Full Time	117	163	322	170	36	808
Week of Investigation	131	164	300	154	33	782

<sup>1</sup> 9 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65-	48	8	8	83	18	18	Ages 5 to 14 years		
18 to 65	708	17	41	871	30	58	364	43	61
16 to 18	23	1	1	19	1	2	Ages 0 to 5 years		
14 to 16	27	1	4	28	1	3	171	9	20
Totals	806	29	54	1 001	56	81	535	12	81

GRAND TOTAL Persons 2 342 Below standard (a) 137 (b) 216

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	17	18	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	3	6	(a) Enough for 3 child		
No male adult earner	22	49	ren but more		
Casual work			than 3	4	28
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	20	65	(b) Not enough for 3		
Illness <sup>1</sup>	5	14	3 or less	7	29
			More than 1	1	7
Carried forward	67	152	Totals	73	216

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII

## STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue Stripes	1 810	3 630	650	10	6 100	14	29	05	00	48
Purple	2 070	12 320	1 730	180	22 200	24	97	59	01	175
Pink	2 300	4 040	35 670	550	42 500	18	32	282	04	336
Pink with Red Stripes	360	610	3 810	00	5 700	03	05	30	07	45
Red	360	800	5 900	42 940	51 000	03	06	47	340	396
Totals	7 800	21 400	52 700	44 600	126 500	62	169	417	352	10000

## ST. MARYLEBONE

Population { 1891 . . . . .	143,487	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	74
1921 . . . . .	104,173	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	42
1931 . . . . .	97,620	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	4.6
Area (acres) . . . . .	1,473	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1880) . . . . .	27.5
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	12.4	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	51.0
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	12.4	Ditto (1911) . . . . .	55.2
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	69	Ditto (1881) . . . . .	55.8
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	356		

The borough of St. Marylebone lies between Westminster and Hampstead on the south and north respectively, and has St. Pancras for its eastern and Paddington for its western boundary. The population in 1891 was 143,000, but it has since shown a steady decline and by 1931 it had fallen to 98,000. The decline appears to have been due chiefly to large clearings in connection with railway construction in the 'nineties and to the changing character of the area between Marylebone Road and Oxford Street from a residential to a business district. Of the population 51 per cent. were born in London and 41 per cent. in other parts of the British Isles. Five per cent. were foreign-born. Of these (who numbered 5,200) 1,160 were born in Russia and Poland and probably consisted almost entirely of Jews.

The southern part of the borough, from Oxford Street to Marylebone Road, contains some well-known thoroughfares, e.g. Portland Place, Harley Street, Baker Street and Edgware Road. This district includes many fine old houses, but is being increasingly invaded by modern business premises and blocks of flats for well-to-do tenants. There are, however, some working-class tenements, especially towards Edgware Road.

To the north of Marylebone Road is Regent's Park and the Zoological Gardens, and a district which includes an extensive railway depot and a group of comparatively poor streets. Farther north is St. John's Wood, a residential district where large houses with good gardens fill most of the space, and which also contains Lord's Cricket Ground. Of late years several large blocks of middle-class flats have been erected in this district.

Among the more important business and shopping thoroughfares may be mentioned Oxford Street and Edgware Road, both of which form part of the boundaries of the borough, Wigmore Street, Great Portland Street, Baker Street, Marylebone Road, and, in the St. John's Wood district, Abbey Road and Finchley Road. There are street markets in Church Street and Bell Street off Edgware Road and in Great Titchfield Street.

In an area lying between Edgware Road and Marylebone Station and its goods depot is a working-class district including small and decrepit eighteenth-century buildings and some old tenement blocks. In this district Wilcove Place, Carlisle Street and Venables Street are characterised by overcrowding, poverty and degradation, and are not without a criminal element. In this area, however, some rebuilding is in progress.

One of the worst streets in Marylebone is Grasse Street (now partly demolished) in the south-east corner of the borough, near Tottenham Court Road.

Overcrowding is rather pronounced in the borough. The proportion of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 4.2 per cent. Only four boroughs show a higher percentage. The percentage of persons in private families living more than three to a room in 1931 was 4.5, as compared with 3.3 per cent. for the Survey Area as a whole. Most of the overcrowding is concentrated in the area described above as lying between Edgware Road and Marylebone Station.

The birth-rate, taking the mean for the five years 1927-31, is 12.4 per 1,000 of the population. Only three other boroughs out of the 37 in the Survey Area show lower rates. The death-rate is 12.4 per 1,000 and the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births is 69 per 1,000 as against 64 for the Survey Area as a whole.

In 1921 the number of occupied persons living in St. Marylebone was 59,000. Of these, nearly 20,000 worked elsewhere, while no less than 68,000 persons living elsewhere came to work in the borough. The chief occupations of male workers resident in St. Marylebone in 1921 were connected with transport, commerce (shopkeepers and shop assistants) and personal service (domestic servants and others). More than one-half of the female workers were engaged in personal service, most of them as domestic servants.

St. Marylebone has 21 elementary schools with places for 10,400 children, one central school and 3 secondary schools. There are also Bedford College for Women, Queen's College, the Royal Academy of Music, Trinity College of Music and the Regent Street Polytechnic. There is one public library in the borough, one theatre, and there are 7 cinemas. There are 158 public-houses, or one per 618 of the population.

Regent's Park, of which 339 acres lie within the borough boundary, is the only open space, apart from two or three old burial-grounds that have been converted into gardens. Altogether about one-quarter of the area of the borough is open space.

To the west of Portland Place (one of the finest streets in London) lies an area of fine eighteenth-century residential streets and squares. In Manchester Square is Hertford House, built in 1776 and now the home of the Wallace Collection.

## ST. MARYLEBONE

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## ST. MARYLEBONE

Population in private families in 1929, 85,500 (estimated)

Sample :	Tenements—Working class	328	Working-class	
	Middle class	281	Families	328
	Unknown status	18	Persons	1,127 (including 4 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY, HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	29	22	9	7	2	—	—	—	69	6 0
2	9	48	22	19	7	5	4	3	117	10 8
3	2	20	25	14	5	8	4	5	83	12 0
4	—	6	15	7	7	7	3	3	48	17 4
5	—	1	1	—	1	2	2	1	8	18 0
6 or more	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	3	25 3
Totals	40	97	72	47	24	22	14	12	328	11 4
	Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors		Sub Tenants	
Rented	9		208		70		11		13	
Owned	1		—		—		—		—	
Free	1		13		2		—		—	

<sup>1</sup> 1 excluding 6 cases of rent not stated

## II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	
	Number of Families						
0	87	31	6	13	38	18	193
1	33	17	6	1	4	—	61
2	22	10	2	2	1	—	37
3	8	6	1	—	3	—	18
4	8	2	—	—	—	—	10
5 or more	4	5	—	—	—	—	9
Totals	162	71	15	16	46	18	328

## III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	4	18	65 and over	4	27	5 to 14	200	Earners 527
			18 to 65			3 to 5	42	Non earners 596
			Wives	39	225	0 to 3	52	
20 to 65	301	9	Others	105	5			
18 to 20	18	1	16 to 18	4	1			
16 to 18	20	—	14 to 16	5	12			
14 to 16	7	4	Totals	177	270	Total	294	Total 1 123
Totals	350	32						

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)													
Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/-	34/1 42/6	42/6 52/6	52/6 62/6	62/6 72/6	72/6 82/6	82/6 92/6	92/6 102/6	102/6 112/6	112/6 122/6	122/6 132/6	132/6 142/6
Families	Number	37	12	24	79	42	32	23	18	30	17	11	325 <sup>1</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	6 7	10 4	8 4	9 9	11 8	13 9	12 2	15 2	15 0	13 4	16 4	11 4

Average Income 76s to 79s

<sup>1</sup> 3 families omitted because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation				
Above standard			Total above standard	315	At Full- time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation
Amount known	309	303	Marginal	1	309	309
Amount unknown			Below standard			
Certainly above	6	6	Certainly	9	15	
Probably above	—	—	Probably	—	—	
	315	309		325 <sup>1</sup>	325 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	05 to 10s	10s to 20s	20s to 40s	40s to 80s	80s or more	Totals
Full Time	37	57	111	80	29	309
Week of Investigation	4	56	107	70	28	303

<sup>1</sup> 3 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) At full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(1)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65—	21	1	1	31	2	2	Ages 5 to 14 years	—	—
18 to 65	327	8	14	371	7	13	200	16	25
16 to 18	20	—	—	25	—	—	Ages 0 to 5 years	—	—
14 to 16	11	—	1	17	—	—	94	5	8
Totals	379	9	16	444	9	15	294	21	33

GRAND TOTAL Persons 1 117 Below standard, (a) 39 (b) 64

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	2	2	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	—	—	(a) 1 enough for 3 children but more	4	28
No male adult earner	1	3	(b) Not enough for 3	1	3
Casual work	1	3	3 or less	—	—
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	5	22	More than 3	—	—
Illness <sup>1</sup>	1	3			
	—	—	Totals	15	64
Cared for	10	33			

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue Stripe	510	1,630	360	—	2,500	0.6	1.9	0.4	—	2.9
Purple	1,840	7,960	3,220	180	13,200	2.2	9.3	3.8	0.2	15.5
Pink	1,030	2,320	17,270	880	21,500	1.2	2.7	20.2	1.0	25.1
Pink with Red Stripe	370	400	3,270	860	4,900	0.4	0.5	3.8	1.0	5.7
Red	150	590	5,380	37,080	43,400	0.2	0.7	6.5	43.4	50.8
Total	3,900	14,900	29,700	39,000	85,500	4.6	15.1	34.7	45.6	100.0



## BATTERSEA

Population	{ 1891 . . . . . 150,166	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . . 96
	{ 1921 . . . . . 167,739	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . . 21
Area (acres)	{ 1931 . . . . . 159,542	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . . 8.1
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 16.3	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1880) . . . . . 33.5
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 12.4	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . . 74.6
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . . 60	Ditto (1911) . . . . . 70.8
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants	. . . . . 253	Ditto (1881) . . . . . 60.5

The borough of Battersea is bounded on the north and north-west by the Thames, on the north-east by Lambeth and on the south-east and south-west by Wandsworth. Its population which, in 1891, was 150,000 had increased to 168,000 in the succeeding ten years and remained at about that level until 1921. The 1931 Census, however, showed a decline to 160,000.

The main and suburban lines of the Southern Railway run through the borough from the north-east in a southerly direction, passing through the important Clapham Junction station. Roughly parallel with these lines are two of the principal thoroughfares—Battersea Park Road with its continuation, York Road on the north and Wandsworth Road—Lavender Hill—St. John's Hill on the south. To the south of the latter road the houses are, in the main, of late nineteenth-century construction and are inhabited by families of the skilled working class and by middle-class families, the social scale rising as the more southern areas are reached.

The principal business and shopping thoroughfares are St. John's Road, Lavender Hill, Falcon Road and Battersea Park Road. There are street markets in Northcote Road (a continuation of St. John's Road), Battersea High Street and in a number of side-turnings from some of the more important shopping streets.

North Battersea is largely a working-class area of two-storied houses of the mid-Victorian period, with older houses near the river. Fringing Battersea Park, however, there are many large blocks of middle-class flats. There are a number of streets where poverty prevails, most of them being close to railways or factories. The worst patch is Orville Road, near Battersea Station, where there is much degradation associated with crime. Currie Street, Everett Street and Ponton Road, which are in the north-east corner of the borough between a railway goods depot and gas works, show some poverty and a criminal element. Other places marked by poverty, overcrowding and vice are Stainforth Road, Livingstone Road, Linford Street, and Brougham and Berkley Streets.

In the year 1931 about 75 per cent. of the inhabitants of Battersea were born in London, 24 per cent. in other parts of the British Isles, and one per cent. in British and foreign countries overseas.

The percentage of persons living in poverty is 8.1, as compared with 9.5 per cent. for the whole Survey Area. In the borough as a whole overcrowding is slightly below the average, the proportion of persons in

working-class families living two or more to a room being 21 per cent., as against 25 in the whole Survey Area.

The birth-rate of Battersea (yearly mean for the five years 1927-31) is 16.3 per 1,000 of population, and the death-rate 12.4 per 1,000. For the whole Survey Area the figures are 15.8 and 12.5 respectively. The infantile mortality rate per 1,000 live births is 60, as compared with 64 for the whole Survey Area.

Battersea is to a considerable extent a dormitory area for persons whose daily work lies elsewhere. According to the 1921 Census 44,000 persons, or 58 per cent. of all occupied persons living in the borough, worked in other places. On the other hand, 17,000 persons who lived in Wandsworth, Lambeth and elsewhere worked in Battersea.

The manufacturing industries of the borough are nearly all by the river-side. They include large gas works, two flour mills, and factories for the production of crucibles, candles, chemicals, paints and varnishes, lubricating oils, brewers' sugar and other articles. A good deal of employment is afforded at large railway depots and works and at a constructional engineering works in the borough. According to the 1921 Census the largest group of occupied males living in Battersea was that of transport (road and rail), the next in order of importance being commerce and finance (shopkeepers, salesmen, etc.) and metal workers (including engineering). The chief group of occupations for women and girls was personal service, including domestic servants and laundry workers.

Education is provided in 30 elementary schools with accommodation for 22,800 children, 2 central schools and 7 secondary schools. There is also a polytechnic institution. Battersea has 3 public libraries, one music hall, 5 cinemas and 119 public-houses, or one to every 1,341 of the population.

The borough is well provided with open spaces. The largest is Battersea Park (200 acres) by the river-side. Farther south are Clapham and Wandsworth Commons with a total area of 380 acres, of which 201 are in Battersea.

There is little left in Battersea to serve as a reminder of its early history. Hidden away in the industrial quarter near the river and the eighteenth-century parish church are some fine old houses, and bordering Clapham Common a few early Georgian houses survive.

# BATTERSEA

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## BATTERSEA

Population in private families in 1929 156 700 (estimated)

Sample :	Tenements—Working class	847	Working class	
	Middle-class	270	Families	
	Unknown status	29	Persons	847
				2 918 (including 16 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	37	15	9	4	2	1	—	1	69	5 2
2	25	54	36	24	13	6	2	4	164	8 4
3	11	124	83	50	27	15	3	10	323	11 4
4	1	24	75	47	32	16	8	7	210	11 8
5	2	4	8	13	16	8	8	10	( )	14 8
6 or more	—	1	4	3	2	1	1	—	12	20 6
Totals	70	22	215	141	9	47	22	32	847	10 7
		Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lodgers		Sub Tenants
Rented		166		355		11		108		164
Owned		8		—		—		28		—
Free		3		1		—		—		—

<sup>1</sup> Excluding cases of negative rent and 16 rent not stated

## II FAMILIES AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

FAMILY GROUPS							
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
	Number of Families						
0	181	95	13	—	53	7	443
1	11	53	—	5	10	2	193
2	74	40	—	3	4	1	102
3	34	17	5	—	4	—	60
4	19	9	—	—	—	—	28
5 or more	9	10	—	—	1	1	21
Totals	438	204	0	37	7	76	847

## III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number	
	Number of Persons							
65 and over	27	49	65 and over	5	97	5 to 14	530	Earners 1 256
			18 to 65	—	—	15 to 17	111	Non earners 1 646
20 to 65	776	7	Wives	57	647	0 to 3	134	
18 to 20	47	1	Others	170	31			
16 to 18	56	2	16 to 18	47	5			
14 to 16	34	15	14 to 16	37	17			
Totals	940	74	Totals	316	797	Total	775	Total 2 902

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)													
Income Range	Over	Not over	0	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7	122/7
			34/-	42/6	52/6	62/6	72/6	82/6	92/6	102/6	112/6	122/6	132/6
Families	Number	66	29	54	161	128	100	55	58	87	43	15	796 <sup>1</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	6 7	8 15	8 9	9 5	10 8	11 7	11 8 5	12 7	12 2	13 1	17 2	10 7

Average Income 77s to 80s

<sup>1</sup> 51 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V. FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD.

Number of Families.						
	At Full-time Family Earnings.	In Week of Investigation.				
Above standard .			Total above standard	769		752
Amount known .	761	744	Marginal .	—		1
Amount unknown .			Below standard .			
Certainly above .	5	5	Certainly .	27		43
Probably above .	3	3	Probably .	—		—
	769	752		796 <sup>1</sup>		796 <sup>1</sup>
Amount above Standard.	0s. to 10s.	10s. to 20s.	20s. to 40s.	40s. to 80s.	80s. or more.	Totals.
Full Time . . . . .	65	106	314	204	72	761
Week of Investigation .	75	107	299	193	70	744

<sup>1</sup> 51 families excluded because of insufficient information.

## VI. PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE.

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN.

(a) At Full-time Family Earnings; (b) in Week of Investigation.

Ages.	Males over 14 Years.			Females over 14 Years.			Children under 14 Years.		
	All.	(a)	(b)	All.	(a)	(b)	All.	(a)	(b)
65- . . . . .	60	5	7	77	12	14	Ages 5 to 14 years:		
18 to 65 . . . . .	809	7	22	874	18	32	518	21	37
16 to 18 . . . . .	56	1	2	51	—	1	Ages 0 to 5 years:		
14 to 16 . . . . .	48	2	4	51	2	3	240	11	18
Totals . . . . .	973	15	35	1,053	32	50	758	32	55

GRAND TOTAL: Persons, 2,784. Below standard, (a) 79; (b) 140.

## VII. CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY.

	Families.	Persons.		Families.	Persons.
Old age . . . . .	11	13	Full-time wages insufficient .		
Incapacity . . . . .	1	5	(a) Enough for 3 children, but more than 3 . . . . .	3	15
No male adult earner . . . . .	9	26	(b) Not enough for 3 or less . . . . .	2	6
Casual work . . . . .	1	4	More than 3 . . . . .	—	—
Unemployment <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	15	59	Totals . . . . .	43	140
Illness <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	1	2			
Carried forward . . . . .	38	109			

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation.

## VIII. STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION.

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only).

Number of Persons.						Percentage.				
	P	U	S	M	Totals.	P	U	S	M	Totals.
Blue . . . . .										
Purple with Blue Stripe . . . . .	3,360	6,580	2,870	90	12,900	2.1	4.2	1.8	0.1	8.2
Purple . . . . .	5,400	33,740	17,040	620	56,800	3.5	21.5	10.9	0.4	36.3
Pink . . . . .	3,510	14,300	39,850	3,940	61,600	2.2	9.1	25.5	2.5	39.3
Pink with Red Stripe . . . . .	270	490	4,960	3,880	9,600	0.2	0.3	3.1	2.5	6.1
Red . . . . .	160	390	1,580	13,670	15,800	0.1	0.3	1.0	8.7	10.1
Totals . . . . .	12,700	55,500	66,300	22,200	156,700	8.1	35.4	42.3	14.2	100.0

## CAMBERWELL

Population { 1891 . . . . .	233,706	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	94
1921 . . . . .	267,198	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	21
1931 . . . . .	251,373	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	8.2
Area (acres) . . . . .	4,480	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	28.6
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	15.3	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	81.2
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	12.4	Ditto (1911) . . . . .	77.6
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	57	Ditto (1881) . . . . .	66.5
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	92		

The borough of Camberwell lies immediately to the south of Southwark and Bermondsey. It is bounded by Deptford and Lewisham on the east and by Lambeth on the west. The population, which was 234,000 in 1891, increased in the three following decades to 267,000 in 1921, but it had fallen to 251,000 in 1931.

Camberwell is, in the main, a residential district. The streets are most thickly set in the northern part of the borough where the majority of the residents are of the working class. In the central part the roads are wider and the houses of more modern construction. The inhabitants of this region, while mainly of the skilled working class, include some middle-class residents. In the southern part of the borough there is much open ground and most of the residents are well-to-do. Among the more important business and shopping thoroughfares are Rye Lane, High Street Peckham, Denmark Hill, Lordship Lane, and Queen's Road.

The working-class district lying to the north of Peckham Road contains some badly overcrowded and poverty-stricken areas. The blackest patch is perhaps that comprising Buff Place, Mazzard Row and Waterloo Street near Camberwell Green, where there is a marked criminal element. Another group of streets in the same neighbourhood (Sultan, Hollington, Bowyer and Crown Streets) are poor and much overcrowded, and crime is not absent. Near the Grand Surrey Canal and the great gas works by the Old Kent Road there are groups of streets inhabited by unskilled and casual workers, notably a group centring on Sandover Road and another including Green Hundred Road, Grainger Street and Bridson Street.

In 1931 London-born persons accounted for 81 per cent. of the inhabitants of Camberwell, while 18 per cent. were born in other parts of the British Isles and one per cent. abroad.

The proportion of persons living in poverty is 8.2 per cent., as compared with 9.5 per cent. for the whole Survey Area. The amount of overcrowding is not marked in the borough as a whole. The percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 21 in Camberwell compared with 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate for the five years 1927-31 was 15.3 per 1,000 of population as compared with 15.8 for the whole of the Survey Area. The death-rate was 12.4 per 1,000, almost the same as that for the whole Survey Area. The infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 57 as against 64 for the whole Area.

Camberwell is, to a considerable extent, a dormitory region for people whose work lies elsewhere. Of the 122,000 occupied persons in the borough in 1921, 72,000 worked in the City, Westminster or other places, while 17,000 persons who lived elsewhere worked in Camberwell.

Apart from the extensive works of the South Metropolitan Gas Company the manufacturing industries of Camberwell are few and unimportant. The principal groups of occupations followed by male residents, according to the Census of 1921, are road, rail and water transport, commerce (shopkeepers, salesmen, etc.) and clerical work. The chief groups in the case of women and girls is personal service (which includes domestic servants and laundry workers) and clerical work.

There are 48 elementary schools in the borough with accommodation for 39,600 children, 3 central schools and 6 secondary schools, including Dulwich College. There is also the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts. There are 5 public libraries, 2 art galleries (the South London Art Gallery and Dulwich Picture Gallery), one music hall, 6 cinemas, and 232 public-houses, or one to every 1,083 of the inhabitants.

Camberwell has 231 acres of open spaces. The largest is Dulwich Park (72 acres) in the southern portion of the borough. Peckham Rye (64 acres), Peckham Rye Park (49 acres) and One Tree Hill (16 acres) are more centrally situated, but they are not within easy walking distance for dwellers in the comparatively densely populated northern part of Camberwell. The remaining spaces range from six acres down to one-fifth of an acre in extent.

There are few buildings in Camberwell of historical or architectural interest.

## CAMBERWELL

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## CAMBERWELL

Population in private families in 1929, 245 700 (estimated)

Sample: Tenements—Working class 1,154  
 Middle-class 319  
 Unknown status 210  
 Working-class Families 1,154  
 Persons 3,866 (including 26 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>a</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	67	25	15	4	1	—	—	—	112	5 6
2	45	75	52	20	13	5	4	1	224	9 1
3	34	154	101	66	31	18	9	11	424	11 8
4	2	42	78	69	38	24	11	16	280	13 3
5	—	8	16	24	14	16	9	13	100	17 1
6 or more	—	—	2	1	1	2	1	7	14	20 3
Totals	148	304	61	113	58	65	34	48	1 154	11 5
		Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors	Sub Tenants	
Rented			176		83		26		246	357
Owned			15		—		—		45	—
Free			—		5		—		—	1

<sup>a</sup> Excluding 1 cases of negative rent and 16 rent not stated

## II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 60	Women and Children only	No Earners	
	Number of Families						
0	224	133	24	48	75	138	648
1	156	56	7	8	16	3	246
2	87	32	1	—	1	8	131
3	40	18	1	1	4	1	67
4	21	15	1	1	2	1	41
5 or more	9	11	1	—	—	—	21
Totals	533	271	35	60	98	151	1,154

## III EARNERS AND NON-EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Number	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	26	65	65 and over	3	153	4 to 14	638	Earners 1 739
20 to 65	1 043	10	18 to 65	—	—	3 to 5	124	Non earners 2,101
18 to 20	11	1	Wives	67	824	0 to 3	180	
16 to 18	72	7	Others	303	48			
14 to 16	49	18	16 to 18	60	5			
Totals	1 253	110	14 to 16	53	17			
			Totals	486	1 047	Total	944	Total 3 840

## IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT (Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/-	34/1 42/7	42/7 52/6	52/6 62/6	62/6 72/7	72/7 82/6	82/6 92/7	92/7 102/7	102/7 112/7	112/7 122/7	122/7 132/6	132/6 142/6	142/6 152/6	152/6 and over	Total and Average
Families	Number	109	32	61	212	164	149	90	49	117	57	34	—	—	—	1,074 <sup>a</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	6 7	8 1	10 1	10 7	11 7	13 4	13 6	11 9	13 2	13 6	14 7	—	—	—	11 5

Average Income 78s to 81s

<sup>a</sup> 80 families omitted because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V. FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD.

Number of Families						
	At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation		At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	
Above standard			Total above standard	1,013	962	
Amount known	1,012	961	Marginal	4	6	
Amount unknown			Below standard			
Certainly above	1	1	Certainly	57	106	
Probably above	—	—	Probably	—	—	
	1,013	962		1,074 <sup>1</sup>	1,074 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard			201 to 401	401 to 801	801 or more	Totals
Full Time Week of Investigation	78	153	387	299	93	1,012
	96	152	370	268	75	961

<sup>1</sup> 80 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65+	71	15	15	121	34	38	Ages 5 to 14 years	621	30
18 to 65	1 101	8	61	1 100	18	73	Ages 0 to 5 years	302	8
16 to 18	77	1	4	65	2	7			
14 to 16	65	4	6	68	1	3			
Totals	1,314	28	86	1 444	55	121	927	38	94
GRAND TOTAL Persons 3 685 Below standard (a) 1-1 (b) 301									

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	39	46	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity			(a) Enough for 3 children but more than 3		
No male adult earner	11	40	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	5	23
Casual work	1	4	More than 3	1	8
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	47	163			
Illness <sup>1</sup>	2	12			
Carried forward	100	270	Totals	106	301

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigationVIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue	4 800	7,840	3,410	150	16,200	2 0	3 2	1 4	0 0	6 6
Stripe										
Purple	6 800	30,730	19,440	630	57,600	2 8	12 5	7 8	0 3	23 4
Pink	7 650	22,550	93 050	6 350	129,600	3 1	9 2	37 9	2 6	52 8
Pink with Red										
Stripe	550	1,530	12,640	3 470	18 200	0 2	0 6	5 2	1 4	7 4
Red	300	950	3 650	19 200	24,100	0 1	0 4	1 5	7 8	9 8
Totals	20,100	63,600	132,200	29,800	245,700	8 2	25 9	53 8	12 1	100 0



## WANDSWORTH

Population { 1891 . . . . .	155,490	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	78
1921 . . . . .	328,307	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	15
1931 . . . . .	353,101	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	4.4
Area (acres) . . . . .	9,107	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) . . . . .	19.5
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	13.2	Percentage of persons born in London (1931) . . . . .	64.4
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	11.5	Ditto (1911) . . . . .	62.7
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31) . . . . .	56	Ditto (1881) . . . . .	56.2
No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	375		

Wandsworth, the largest of the London boroughs in both area and population, is made up of the suburbs of Clapham, Balham and Tooting, Streatham, Wandsworth and Putney. It is bounded on the north by Battersea and the Thames, on the east by Lambeth, and it extends to the county boundary on the south and west. Its population, which was 155,000 in 1891, had nearly doubled by 1911, when it was 311,000. Since then the growth has been less rapid. The total in 1931 was 353,000.

A broad road runs in a south-westerly direction through Clapham, Balham and Tooting. Beginning in the north as Clapham Road, it is named, in successive stretches, High Street, Clapham Common South Side, Balham Hill, Balham High Road and Upper Tooting Road. On both sides of Clapham Road and High Street there are working-class districts, but Clapham Common South Side and the district known as Clapham Park are middle-class areas. Farther south the streets centring on Balham Hill and its continuation are mainly of a working-class character. In Clapham, Nelson's Row and White's Square and Rashleigh Street are marked by poverty and degradation, while in Balham there is pronounced poverty in Zennor Road. The principal business and shopping thoroughfares in Clapham, Balham and Tooting are, High Street Clapham, Balham High Road, Upper Tooting Road, Tooting Broadway and Mitcham Road.

Streatham in the south-eastern part of the borough has for its main artery Streatham Hill and its continuation Streatham High Road, which run north and south through the district. Streatham is very predominantly a middle-class area with some working-class streets here and there, chiefly near Tooting in the south-west. The principal shopping street is Streatham High Road.

Wandsworth town and Putney lie in the western part of the borough. The main thoroughfare of this district runs from east to west, beginning as High Street Wandsworth and continuing as Upper Richmond Road. In the neighbourhood of Wandsworth Common there are groups of middle-class roads, and the greater part of Putney is also predominantly middle-class, while between High Street Wandsworth and the River Thames and the area in the valley of the River Wandle the streets are inhabited mainly by working-class families.

The poorest quarters are near the banks of the Rivers Thames and Wandle. Poverty and slum conditions prevail in Jews Row, Bridgefield Grove, Point Pleasant, Modder Place and Floss Street, all near the

Thames. In the Wandle valley are the worst patches—Wardley Street, Lydden Road and Lydden Grove, where there is much poverty and overcrowding. Iron Mill Place, Pevensey Road, Fountain Road and part of Tooting Grove, while not marked by such acute poverty, show overcrowding and degradation.

The principal business and shopping streets in Wandsworth are High Street, Replingham Road and parts of Garrett Lane. In Putney they are High Street and Upper Richmond Road.

The proportion of persons living in poverty is 4.4 per cent. Only three other boroughs in the Survey Area show lower percentages. There is comparatively little overcrowding, the percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more persons to a room being 15, as compared with 25 per cent. for the whole Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate for the five years 1927-31 was 13.2 per 1,000 of population; the death-rate was 11.5 per 1,000 and the infantile mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 56. These rates are lower than in the case of the majority of boroughs in the Survey Area.

Wandsworth is to a considerable extent a dormitory district for persons whose daily work lies elsewhere. In 1921 there were 150,000 occupied persons living in the borough, but of these 83,000 worked in Westminster, the City and other places outside Wandsworth. There was, however, an influx of 24,000 workers who lived elsewhere. Some productive industries are carried on in the borough mostly near the Thames and in the valley of its tributary, the Wandle. In those regions there are factories where cattle foods, gas mantles, cardboard boxes and other goods are made, two breweries and some engineering works. According to the Census of 1921 the occupations in which the largest group of Wandsworth residents were engaged were of a commercial or clerical character, followed by transport workers in the case of males and personal service (mostly domestic servants and laundry workers) in the case of females. Wandsworth is one of the chief laundry centres in London.

There are 69 elementary schools in the borough, providing accommodation for 45,000 children, 6 central schools and 11 secondary schools. There are also 2 schools of art at Clapham and Putney respectively, and a technical institute. Wandsworth has 8 public libraries, 2 theatres or music-halls, 23 cinemas and 171 public-houses, or one for every 2,065 of the inhabitants. Only two other London boroughs (Lewisham and Fulham) show a lower proportion of public-houses.

Wandsworth is well provided with open spaces which cover a total area of 1,325 acres. The largest are the adjoining expanses of Putney Heath and Wimbledon Common, of which 492 acres lie within the borough boundary. The next in order are Richmond Park, of which 233 acres are in Wandsworth, Tooting Bec and Tooting Graveney Commons (218 acres), Clapham Common (93 acres of which are in Wandsworth), Wandsworth Common (84 acres in Wandsworth), Streatham Common (72 acres), King George's Park (43 acres) and some smaller spaces. The parks and commons are well distributed and there is no part of the borough from which there is not fairly easy access to one or more of them.

# WANDSWORTH

449

## WANDSWORTH

Population in private families in 1929, 330,400 (estimated).

Sample : Tenements—	Working-class	909	Working-class	
	Middle-class	744	Families	909
	Unknown status	107	Persons	3,257 (including 22 lodgers).

I										SIZE OF FAMILY, HOUSING AND RENT		Average <sup>1</sup>
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (shillings)		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more				
	Number of Families											
1	23	12	4	4	—	—	—	—	43	6.2		
2	22	52	32	22	8	3	2	1	142	9.5		
3	16	127	85	64	35	14	4	5	350	12.2		
4	2	36	71	60	38	23	6	7	243	14.8		
5	—	18	17	30	17	11	10	11	114	18.5		
6 or more	—	3	2	3	5	1	3	—	17	20.4		
Totals	63	248	211	183	103	52	25	24	909	12.9		
	Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub-Lessors		Sub-Tenants			
Rented	296		299		17		83		134			
Owned	49		—		—		22		—			
Free	1		—		—		—		—			

<sup>1</sup> Including 7 cases of negative rent and 10 rent not stated

## II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

EARNING GROUPS							Totals.
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children only	No Earners	
	Number of Families						
0	192	116	9	26	58	63	464
1	128	53	2	9	11	4	207
2	92	24	2	4	4	—	126
3	49	17	—	—	1	1	68
4	16	8	—	1	1	—	26
5 or more	8	10	—	—	—	—	18
Totals	465	228	13	40	75	68	909

## III EARNERS AND NON-EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non-earners	Age	Earners	Non-earners	Age	Number	
Number of Persons								
65 and over	32	40	65 and over	5	80	5 to 14	565	Earners 1,366
			18 to 64	49	730	3 to 4	111	Non-earners 1,770
20 to 64	862	13	Wives	27	28	0 to 2	137	
18 to 20	46	-	Others	27	28			
16 to 18	47	4	16 to 18	41	9			
14 to 16	26	27	14 to 16	27	26			
Totals	1,013	84	Totals	353	873	Total	813	Total 3,136

## IV FULL-TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over	Not over	0	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7	122/7	132/7	142/7	152/7	Total and Average.
Families	Number	62	22	40	163	132	141	78	62	107	52	28	—	—	—	—	887 <sup>1</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	7.2	11.9	11.4	11.3	13.3	14.1	13.75	14.7	14.7	14.1	15.0	—	—	—	—	12.9

Average Income 81s to 84s

<sup>1</sup> 22 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation				
Above standard			Total above standard	At Full- time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation	
Amount known	849	825	Marginal	842	828	
Amount unknown			Below standard	3	2	
Certainly above	3	3	(Certainly	40	54	
Probably above			Probably	2	3	
	842	828		887 <sup>1</sup>	887 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	05 to 105	105 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Totals
Full Time	61	117	103	70	88	539
Week of Investigation	60	120	103	259	83	825

<sup>1</sup> 22 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)	All	(a) (b)
65—	72	9	10	85	15	15
18 to 65	921	13	27	1 034	23	45
16 to 18	51	2	2	60	1	6
14 to 16	53	3	6	47	2	2
Totals	1,097	27	45	1 276	50	68

GRAND TOTAL Persons 3 136 Below standard (a) 10. (b) 155

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	14	17	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	3	5	(a) Enough for 3 children but more than 3	2	18
No male adult earner	18	39	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	3	12
Casual work	2	8	More than 3		
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	17	47			
Illness <sup>1</sup>	3	7			
Carried forward	52	125	Total	57	155

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue	3 420	5 800	1 060	170	11 300	10	18	06	00	34
Stripe										
Purple	1 170	18 150	11 180	200	32 700	10	54	34	01	99
Pink	6 070	24 800	100 750	10 360	141 700	19	75	30	5	42.9
Pink with Red										
Stripe	1 030	2 830	21 360	11 480	36 700	03	09	64	35	11.1
Red	790	3 220	12 150	91 840	108 000	02	10	37	27.8	32.7
Totals	14 500	54,800	147,400	113 700	330 400	44	16.6	44.6	14.4	100.0

ACTON

Population	1891	24,206	No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants	129
	1921	61,299	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931)	85
	1931	70,523	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30)	19
Area (acres)		2,304	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30)	2.8
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)		15.6	Iditto (Booth Survey, 1889) <sup>1</sup>	—
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)		11.0		
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31)		62		

<sup>1</sup> Not surveyed by Charles Booth.

The borough of Acton lies to the west of London, between Hammer-smith on the east and Ealing on the west. Its northern boundary is Willesden and its southern boundary the borough of Brentford and Chiswick. The population, which was 24,000 in 1891, grew rapidly and recorded 57,000 in 1911. During the succeeding twenty years the growth was continuous though less marked and the total reached by the Census of 1931 was 71,000.

The wide thoroughfare of the Uxbridge Road passes through Acton from east to west. Towards the centre of the borough it is named Acton Vale and then High Street, and it is here where the business and shopping life is most concentrated. South of this thoroughfare is the more densely populated part of the borough, but even here there are many wide, tree-lined roads with good middle-class houses in the Bedford Park district, which is said to be the first garden city to be built in England. To the west of Bedford Park, however, there are some working-class streets of a rather poor character. North of Uxbridge Road the houses are generally of more recent construction than those to the south, but in the extreme north of the borough there is a good deal of vacant ground and a rather dreary expanse of factories, canals and railway sidings, with some rows of small working-class houses. The principal shopping thoroughfares, after High Street, are Market Place, Horn Lane, Churchfield Road and Church Road.

Immediately to the west of South Acton Station is a group of mean streets where there is some poverty and overcrowding, and a rough element among the inhabitants, but perhaps the worst area is a group of short streets centring on Steyne Road just north of High Street. There are, however, no bad slums in Acton.

The proportion of persons living in poverty is 2.8 per cent. Only one of the 37 boroughs in the Survey Area (Hampstead) shows a lower proportion. As regards overcrowding, the percentage of persons in working-class families in Acton living two or more persons to a room is 19, as compared with 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate of Acton for the five years 1927-31 was 15.6 per 1,000 of population and the death-rate was 11.0. The infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 62. None of these rates was exceptionally high or low as compared with other boroughs in the outer part of the Survey Area, but the death-rate was lower than that for any of the boroughs in the inner ring.

Acton is less of a "dormitory" borough than most of the other boroughs, since, in 1921, 14,600 persons who lived elsewhere worked in the borough, while only 13,200 Acton residents worked in other places. The industries carried on in the borough include several large works for the manufacture of motor vehicles, motor bodies and motor accessories. There are also food and confectionery factories, dyeing and cleaning works, a bookbinding works and several laundries. Some indication of the extent of the laundry work is afforded by the 1921 Census, which shows that of a total of 9,700 occupied females in Acton 1,800 were engaged in laundry service. The principal classes of work for occupied males resident in Acton are the engineering and metal trades, and road and railway transport.

There are several elementary schools, a central school and 2 secondary schools, one of which is the Haberdashers' Aske's School for Girls. Technical instruction is provided in the Acton and Chiswick Polytechnic which is, however, not situated within the borough but in Chiswick. There is one public library and 3 cinemas, but no theatre or music hall.

Acton has no more than 91 acres of open spaces, but a corner of the large expanse of Wormwood Scrubs lies within the borough on the north-east, and Gunnersbury Park (200 acres) is near the south-eastern boundary. The largest spaces in Acton are Acton Park, North Acton Playing Fields and Southfield Road Playing Fields.

There is little of architectural or historical interest in the buildings in the borough beyond the remains of an ancient priory which are embedded in a modern club house.

# ACTON

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## ACTON

Population in private families in 1929 67 600 (estimated)  
 Sample: Tenements—Working class 688 Working class Families 688  
 Middle class 376 Families 2,432 (including 32 lodgers)  
 Unknown status 82 Persons

I SIZE OF FAMILY, HOUSING AND RENT										
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	15	10	2	1	4	3	—	—	35	6 4
2	12	27	27	16	10	4	1	—	97	11 1
3	13	76	52	41	26	12	7	7	234	12 7
4	1	40	40	42	17	6	9	7	162	14 7
5	1	14	31	19	18	15	4	1	109	18 4
6 or more	—	8	11	10	14	4	2	2	51	24 1
Totals	42	175	167	129	81	44	23	19	688	13 8
		Separate Houses		Divided Houses		Blocks of Flats		Sub Lessors	Sub-Tenants	
Rented		199		136		3		74	122	
Owned		51		—		—		5	—	
Free		5		2		—		—	—	

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 13 cases rent not stated

## EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Number of Dependent Children	EARNING GROUPS						Totals
	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 20	Women and Children (only)	No Earners	
	Number of Families						
0	129	88	36	1	34	48	356
1	81	40	21	13	3	4	162
2	57	22	6	2	1	—	88
3	27	11	6	1	1	—	46
4	9	8	4	2	—	1	24
5 or more	6	4	—	—	1	1	12
Totals	309	173	73	33	40	54	688

## III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS

Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Num ber	
Number of Person								
65 and over	19	32	65 and over	—	77	5 to 14	408	Earners 1 149
			18 to 65	—	181	3 to 5	82	Non earners 1 271
20 to 65	696	8	Wives	96	181	0 to 3	106	
18 to 20	41	1	Others	156	36			
16 to 18	44	4	16 to 18	36	1			
14 to 16	28	22	14 to 16	27	13			
Totals	828	67	Totals	321	608	Total	596	Total 2 420

## FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT (Shillings per Week)

Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/—	34/1 42/6	42/7 52/7	52/7 62/6	62/7 72/7	72/7 82/7	82/7 92/6	92/7 102/7	102/7 112/7	112/7 122/6	122/6 132/7	132/7 142/7	142/7 152/7	152/7 162/7	162/7 172/7	172/7 182/7	182/7 and over	Total and Average
Families	Number	63	24	42	101	67	93	65	50	103	55	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	680 <sup>1</sup>
Average rent	Shillings	7 9	11 2	13 1	12 1	14 6	15 5	16 9	14 6	15 6	15 4	17 5	—	—	—	—	—	—	13 8

Average Income 83s to 86s

<sup>1</sup> 8 families excluded because amount of income is not stated

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V. FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD.

Number of Families						
	At Full-time Family Earnings.	In Week of Investigation			At Full-time Family Earnings.	In Week of Investigation.
Above standard			Total above standard			
Amount known	623	581	Marginal	640	598	
Amount unknown			Below standard	2	1	
Certainly above	14	14	Certainly	37	80	
Probably above	3	3	Probably	1	1	
	640	598		680 <sup>1</sup>	680 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	0s. to 10s.	10s. to 20s.	20s. to 40s.	40s. to 80s.	80s. or more	Totals.
Full Time	58	85	194	209	77	623
Week of Investigation	64	87	179	191	60	581

<sup>1</sup> 8 families excluded because of insufficient information.

## VI. PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings, (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65-	48	8	11	83	22	26	Ages 5 to 14 years		
18 to 65	739	7	32	758	19	67	403	21	45
16 to 18	46	—	1	17	—	1	Ages 0 to 5 years		
14 to 16	50	1	2	39	1	5	185	7	30
Totals	883	16	66	917	42	99	588	28	75

GRAND TOTAL Persons, 2,358 Below standard, (a) 86, (b) 240

## VII. CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY.

	Families.	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	20	27	Full-time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	—	—	(a) Enough for 3 children, but more than 3	2	14
No male adult earner	11	26	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	4	10
Casual work	—	—	More than 3	1	9
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	31	121			
Illness <sup>1</sup>	10	13			
Carried forward	74	207	Totals	81	240

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation.

## VIII. STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only).

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals.	P	U	S	M	Totals.
Blue										
Purple with Blue	40	400	60	—	500	0.0	0.6	0.1	—	0.7
Stripe										
Purple	770	7,430	4,020	380	12,600	1.1	11.0	5.9	0.6	18.6
Pink	940	7,830	21,030	2,800	32,600	1.4	11.5	31.1	4.2	48.2
Pink with Red										
Stripe	100	130	2,750	2,120	5,100	0.2	0.2	4.7	3.1	7.6
Red	50	510	2,440	13,800	16,800	0.1	0.8	3.6	20.4	24.9
Totals	1,900	16,300	30,300	19,100	67,600	2.8	24.1	44.8	28.3	100.0



## HORNSEY

Population	44,523	No. of acres of open space per 100,000	
	87,659	Inhabitants	311
Area (acres)	95,524	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931)	69
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	2,875	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30)	9
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	13.2	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30)	5.2
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31)	11.7	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) <sup>1</sup>	—
	50		

<sup>1</sup> Not surveyed by Charles Booth.

The borough of Hornsey extends from St. Pancras and Islington on the south to Friern Barnet and Wood Green on the north. Finchley forms its western boundary and Tottenham and Stoke Newington its eastern boundary. The population of the borough, which was 45,000 in 1891, grew to 72,000 ten years later and to 85,000 in 1911. In 1931 it was 96,000.

Hornsey is essentially a middle-class residential suburb, though there is a working-class element which is chiefly centred in the eastern and south-eastern parts of the borough near the railway lines and goods depots. The oldest district—the part of Highgate which lies within the borough—consists chiefly of middle-class residences with a comparatively small number of poorer dwellings. Another district which has associations with the past is that in the neighbourhood of High Street Hornsey in the east of the borough. This was until the middle of last century a village street. Since then Hornsey has developed northward from Highgate and westward from the High Street, and most of the newer houses are to the north-west of the Alexandra Palace. The main shopping thoroughfares are the Broadway at Crouch End, Highgate Hill, Muswell Hill, High Street Hornsey and Stroud Green Road. There are no street markets in the borough.

The poorest district in Hornsey is a group of four streets, of which Campsbourne Road and Boyton Road are the longest, just to the north of High Street. St. Mary's Road to the south of High Street is also marked by poverty.

The proportion of persons living in poverty is 5.2 per cent., as compared with 9.5 for the Survey Area as a whole.

There is comparatively little overcrowding, the percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room being 9, as compared with 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area.

The mean yearly birth-rate taken over the five years 1927-31 was 13.2 per 1,000 of population. Only 5 other boroughs out of the 37 in the Survey Area show lower rates. The death-rate was 11.7 per 1,000. The infant mortality rate (50 per 1,000 live births) was lower than is shown for any other borough, with the exception of Lewisham and Leyton.

Evidence of the dormitory character of the borough is afforded by the fact that of the 41,500 occupied persons living there in 1921, 27,500, or 66 per cent., worked elsewhere. The number of persons who worked in Hornsey but lived elsewhere was 5,500 only. The productive industries

carried on in Hornsey are few and unimportant, and the occupations most largely followed by male workers are clerical, commercial and in connection with road and railway transport. For women and girls domestic service is the chief occupation, followed by clerical work and the teaching profession.

There are 12 elementary schools and 5 secondary schools in Hornsey, including Highgate School, founded in 1565. There are 3 public libraries and 7 cinemas, but no theatre in the borough.

Hornsey is fortunate in possessing in Alexandra Park, Highgate Wood, Queen's Wood, Priory Park and Middle Lane Pleasure Grounds, and Finsbury Park, 297 acres of open spaces, and in having also in close proximity Hampstead Heath, Parliament Hill Fields, Ken Wood and Waterlow Park, covering an additional area of some 700 acres.

A prominent feature of Hornsey is the Alexandra Palace, opened in 1873, which occupies a fine site commanding very wide views but has no other claim to beauty.

The only buildings of historical or architectural interest in Hornsey are some fine old houses in Highgate, notably "Cromwell House" on Highgate Hill, which dates from the seventeenth century.

# HORNSEY

457

## HORNSEY

Population in private families in 1929, 91 500 (estimated)  
 Sample : Tenements—Working-class 422 Working class  
 Middle-class 715 Families 422  
 Unknown status 7 Persons 1,373 (including 14 lodgers)

I SIZE OF FAMILY HOUSING AND RENT										Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
Number of Rooms	Number of Persons in Family								Totals	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		
	Number of Families									
1	11	4	2	—	1	—	—	—	18	7 2
2	8	21	13	7	2	—	—	—	51	11 8
3	10	74	49	15	7	2	4	1	162	15 5
4	2	29	36	28	14	6	3	2	120	15 5
5	—	5	6	14	11	10	5	3	54	16 9
6 or more	—	1	1	3	3	3	2	4	15	21 8
Totals	31	134	107	67	38	21	14	8	420 <sup>2</sup>	15 0
Number of Families										
Separate Houses										
Divided Houses										
Blocks of Flats										
Sub Lessors										
Sub Tenants										
Rented	80								84	128
Owned	11								9	—
Free	2								—	—

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 3 cases of negative rent and 5 rent not stated.  
<sup>2</sup> families excluded because number of rooms is not stated

II EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN							
EARNING GROUPS							
Number of Dependent Children	Man Alone	Man and One or more Children	Man and Wife (and Children)	Other Cases of Man over 10	Women and Children only	No Earners	Totals
	Number of Families						
0	101	33	6	10	35	41	226
1	67	4	2	5	9	1	108
2	34	8	2	—	2	2	46
3	11	12	2	—	1	1	27
4	5	1	—	—	—	—	6
5 or more	7	2	—	—	—	—	9
Totals	223	80	12	15	47	45	422

III EARNERS AND NON EARNERS									
Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children		Totals	
Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Earners	Non earners	Age	Num ber		
Number of Persons									
65 and over	8	21	65 and over	1	49	5 to 14	225	Earners	583
20 to 65	368	6	18 to 65	34	323	3 to 5	47	Non earners	782
18 to 20	23	—	Wives	96	22	0 to 3	61		
16 to 18	21	—	Others	18	7				
14 to 16	12	13	14 to 16	2	8				
Totals	432	40	Totals	151	409	Total	333	Total	1,365

IV FULL TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT (Shillings per Week)														
Income Range	Over Not over	34/-	34/1	42/7	52/7	62/7	72/7	82/7	92/7	102/7	112/7	122/7	132/7	Total and Average
	Number	23	16	25	50	94	74	38	22	36	25	11	—	414 <sup>1</sup>
Families Average rent	Shillings	8 6	8 8	12 9	13 7	15 8	17 0	16 0	17 4	15 4	15 5	14 3	—	15 0
Average Income 80s to 83s														

<sup>1</sup> 8 families omitted because amount of income is not stated.

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation		At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation.	
Above standard			Total above standard	402	399	
Amount known	401	398	Marginal	—	—	
Amount unknown			Below standard			
Certainly above	1	1	Certainly	12	15	
Probably above	—	—	Probably	—	—	
	402	399		414 <sup>1</sup>	414 <sup>1</sup>	
Amount above Standard	05 to 101	103 to 205	205 to 405	405 to 805	805 or more	Total
Full Time Week of Investigation	26 30	46 48	199 196	94 91	36 33	401 398

<sup>1</sup> 8 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years		Females over 14 Years		Children under 14 Years	
	All (a)	(b)	All (a)	(b)	All (a)	(b)
65—	29	1	49	1	Ages 5 to 14 years	20
18 to 65	39	7	468	11	2.3	15
16 to 18	21	—	24	—	Ages 0 to 5 years	10
14 to 16	25	1	9	1	108	13
Totals	467	8	550	13	331	33

GRAND TOTAL Persons (a) 348 Below standard (a) 46, (b) 61

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	1	1	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	1	4	(a) enough for 3 children but more	2	13
No male adult earner	4	10	(b) Not enough for 3 or less	3	12
Casual work	—	—	More than 3	1	6
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	3	1	Totals	15	61
Illness <sup>1</sup>	—	—			
Carried forward	9	30			

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS IN EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue Stripe	1 770	1,880	640	10	4 300	19	21	07	00	47
Purple	650	1 820	1 380	50	3 900	07	20	15	01	43
Pink	1 060	3 240	10 310	590	15 200	12	35	11	06	166
Pink with Red Stripe	450	950	6 610	2 090	10,100	05	10	72	23	110
Red	870	1,810	5 760	49,560	58,000	09	20	63	54	634
Totals	4 800	9,700	24 700	52 300	91,500	52	106	270	572	1000

## WILLESDEN

Population	{ 1891 . . . . .	61,266	No. of acres of open space per 100,000 inhabitants . . . . .	126
	{ 1921 . . . . .	165,674	No. of persons per 100 rooms (1931) . . . . .	90
	{ 1931 . . . . .	184,410	Percentage of persons in working-class families living 2 or more persons to a room (House Sample, 1929-30) . . . . .	20
Area (acres)	. . . . .	4,385	Percentage of persons in Poverty (Street Survey, 1929-30) . . . . .	—
Birth-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . .	16.3	Ditto (Booth Survey, 1889) <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	—
Death-rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . .	10.5		
Infant Mortality rate (mean of years 1927-31)	. . . . .	57		

<sup>1</sup> Not surveyed by Charles Booth.

The borough of Willesden lies to the north-west of London between Ealing, Wembley and Kingsbury on the west and north-west, Hendon and Hampstead on the north-east, and Paddington, Kensington, Hammer-smith and Acton on the south. It is an agglomeration of a number of villages and hamlets such as Kilburn, Harlesden, Willesden Green, Cricklewood. The borough forms a rough triangle, having for its base the main lines of the London Midland and Scottish Railway and for its sides Edgware Road and its continuations, and the North Circular Road.

The population has grown rapidly since 1891, when it was 61,000. By 1901 it had reached 115,000, or nearly double, and further increases brought the total up to 184,000 in 1931.

Willesden is an upper working-class and middle-class district. Generally speaking, the social character rises with the height of the ground on which the houses are built, and the working-class element is more pronounced in the comparatively low-lying areas such as Kilburn in the south-east and Harlesden in the south-west, where there are many monotonous rows of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century houses. Towards the northern part of the borough there is a considerable number of post-war middle-class houses. This part of the district still contains some open country with winding lanes and fine old trees. The principal shopping thoroughfares in Willesden are Cricklewood Broadway, High Road (Willesden Green), Kilburn High Road and High Street Harlesden.

The proportion of persons living in poverty is 6 per cent. This is lower than for the Western Survey Area (7.5 per cent.) and sensibly below that for the whole Survey Area (9.5 per cent.). The poorest district is probably a group of streets near Kilburn Station in the south-eastern corner of the borough. Granville Street in particular is marked by poverty and overcrowding. There is some overcrowding too in the Harlesden district in the south-west of the borough. For Willesden as a whole the percentage of persons in working-class families living two or more to a room is 20, as against 25 per cent. in the whole Survey Area.

The birth-rate of Willesden, taking the mean of the five years 1927-31, is 16.3 per 1,000 of population. The death-rate is low (10.5 per 1,000) and the infantile mortality rate (57 per 1,000 live births) is also fairly low compared with the majority of the boroughs in the Survey Area.

The residential character of the district is evident from the fact that of the 77,000 occupied persons who dwell there in 1921 about 43,000, or 56 per cent., worked elsewhere, mainly in boroughs nearer to the City and

in the City itself. The number of persons who lived elsewhere but worked in Willesden was 14,000. According to the 1921 Census the largest group of male workers living in the district were engaged in connection with rail and road transport. Another large group were engaged in commerce (shopkeepers, salesmen, etc.) and there was a considerable body of workers in the engineering and metal trades. Among female workers the principal occupation was that of domestic service. Willesden is one of the centres of the laundry trade for London. There are also some factories in the borough, including a large one for the manufacture of electrical switchgear and a biscuit factory. At Neasden are the works of the Metropolitan Railway Company.

Education is provided in 35 elementary schools, one central school, 3 secondary schools and a polytechnic institute. There are 5 public libraries, one music-hall and 7 cinemas, but no theatre.

There are 233 acres of open spaces in the borough. The largest is Gladstone Park (96 acres) towards the north, and the next in order of importance are Roundwood Park, King Edward VII Recreation Ground and Queen's Park in the south.

There are few buildings of historical or architectural interest.

**WILLESDEN**

**Population in private families in 1929, 176,000 (estimated).**

Sample: Tenements—Working-class . . . 712  
Middle-class . . . 322  
Unknown status . . . 41

Working-class:  
Families . . . 712  
Persons . . . 2,621 (including 37 lodgers).

### I. SIZE OF FAMILY, HOUSING AND RENT.

Number of Persons in Family.										Totals.	Average <sup>1</sup> Net Rent (Shillings)																							
Number of Rooms.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more.																										
Number of Families.																																		
1	12	5	10	6	2	—	—	—	35	8.3																								
2	5	37	28	18	4	5	—	2	99	12.7																								
3	12	73	76	44	31	17	10	6	269	14.6																								
4	1	25	52	51	25	15	7	6	182	17.3																								
5	1	11	24	25	21	7	5	5	99	24.1																								
6 or more	—	3	1	6	10	3	3	2	28	30.0																								
Totals	31	154	191	150	93	47	25	21	712	16.4																								
<table><tr><td></td><td>Separate Houses.</td><td>Divided Houses.</td><td>Blocks of Flats.</td><td>Sub- Lessors.</td><td>Sub- Tenants.</td></tr><tr><td>Rented . . . . .</td><td>135</td><td>371</td><td>30</td><td>45</td><td>84</td></tr><tr><td>Owned . . . . .</td><td>22</td><td>—</td><td>—</td><td>22</td><td>—</td></tr><tr><td>Free . . . . .</td><td>—</td><td>2</td><td>—</td><td>—</td><td>—</td></tr></table>												Separate Houses.	Divided Houses.	Blocks of Flats.	Sub- Lessors.	Sub- Tenants.	Rented . . . . .	135	371	30	45	84	Owned . . . . .	22	—	—	22	—	Free . . . . .	—	2	—	—	—
	Separate Houses.	Divided Houses.	Blocks of Flats.	Sub- Lessors.	Sub- Tenants.																													
Rented . . . . .	135	371	30	45	84																													
Owned . . . . .	22	—	—	22	—																													
Free . . . . .	—	2	—	—	—																													

<sup>2</sup> Excluding 3 cases of negative rent, and 24 rent not stated.

## II. EARNERS AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

Number of Dependent Children.	EARNING GROUPS.						Totals.
	Man Alone.	Man and One or more Children.	Man and Wife (and Children).	Other Cases of Man over 20.	Women and Children only.	No Earners.	
	<i>Number of Families.</i>						
0	124	81	20	16	43	21	305
1	134	47	9	7	7	2	206
2	80	24	2	3	5	2	116
3	29	10	1	1	4	—	45
4	13	11	1	—	—	—	25
5 or more	9	4	1	1	—	—	15
Totals .	389	177	34	28	59	25	712

### III. EARNERS AND NON-EARNERS

Males over 14 Years.			Females over 14 Years.			Children.		Totals.
Age.	Earners.	Non-earners.	Age.	Earners.	Non-earners.	Age.	Number.	
<i>Number of Persons.</i>								
65 and over	16	26	65 and over	3	51	5 to 14	497	Earners 1,149
						3 to 5	96	Non-earners 1,439
20 to 65	718	13	18 to 65:			0 to 3	115	
18 to 20	45	1	Wives	61	566			
16 to 18	36	3	Others	180	24			
14 to 16	29	21	16 to 18	35	3			
			14 to 16	26	23			
Totals	844	64	Totals.	305	667	Total	708	Total 2,588

IV. FULL-TIME FAMILY INCOME AND RENT.  
(Shillings per Week.)

Income Range	Over Not over	0 34/-	34/1 42/6	42/7 52/6	52/7 62/6	62/7 72/6	72/7 82/6	82/7 92/6	92/7 102/7	102/7 142/7	142/7 182/7	182/7 and over	Total and Average.
Families : Average rent :	Number	34	42	55	99	134	100	35	45	84	40	25	683 <sup>1</sup>
	Shillings	8·1	11·8	12·3	14·7	17·2	17·7	19·4	18·3	17·3	18·9	18·9	16·4

**Average Income : 83s. to 86s.**

<sup>1</sup> 29 families omitted because amount of income is not stated.

## BOROUGH SUMMARIES

## V FAMILIES ABOVE AND BELOW MINIMUM STANDARD

Number of Families						
	At Full time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation			At Full-time Family Earnings	In Week of Investigation.
Above standard			Total above standard		653	625
Amount known	639	611	Marginal		10	9
Amount unknown			Below standard			
Certainly above	14	14	Certainly		20	49
Probably above	—	—	Probably		—	—
	653	625			683 <sup>1</sup>	683 <sup>1</sup>
Amount above Standard	0s to 10s	10s to 20s	20s to 40s	40s to 80s	80s or more	Totals
Full Time	61	109	237	163	69	639
Week of Investigation	59	110	227	156	59	611

<sup>1</sup> 29 families excluded because of insufficient information

## VI PERSONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

## NUMBER OF PERSONS BELOW STANDARD GIVEN

(a) at Full time Family Earnings (b) in Week of Investigation

Ages	Males over 14 Years			Females over 14 Years			Children under 14 Years		
	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)	All	(a)	(b)
65—	40	4	5	47	4	6	Ages 5 to 14 years		
18 to 65	743	6	35	799	17	46	487	14	46
16 to 18	37	—	—	37	1	5	Ages 0 to 5 years		
14 to 16	50	1	2	48	—	1	207	10	25
Totals	870	11	42	931	22	58	694	24	71

GRAND TOTAL Persons 2 495 Below standard (a) 57 (b) 171

## VII CLASSIFICATION OF APPARENT CAUSES OF POVERTY

	Families	Persons		Families	Persons
Old age	4	7	Full time wages insufficient		
Incapacity	—	—	(a) 1 enough for 3 (but		
No male adult earner	10	23	dread but more		
Casual work	—	—	than 3	2	13
Unemployment <sup>1</sup>	27	107	(b) Not enough for 3		
Illness <sup>1</sup>	2	7	3 or less	4	14
			More than 3	—	—
Carried forward	43	144	Totals	49	171

<sup>1</sup> Additional in week of investigation

## VIII STREET SURVEY CLASSIFICATION

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF EACH ECONOMIC GRADE LIVING IN STREETS OF EACH COLOUR (Private Families only)

	Number of Persons					Percentage				
	P	U	S	M	Totals	P	U	S	M	Totals
Blue										
Purple with Blue	480	1,470	710	—	2,660	0.3	0.8	0.4	—	1.5
Stripes										
Purple	2,810	9,760	7,430	200	20,200	1.6	5.6	4.2	0.1	11.5
Pink	5,820	19,960	60,520	6,100	92,400	3.3	11.3	34.4	3.5	52.5
Pink with Red										
Stripes	740	2,470	11,210	6,180	20,600	0.4	1.4	6.4	3.5	11.7
Red	650	2,200	6,730	30,620	40,200	0.4	1.2	3.8	17.4	22.8
Totals	10,500	35,800	86,600	43,100	176,000	6.0	20.3	49.2	24.5	100.0



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*Note.*—Some information is given uniformly for all boroughs in the Western Survey Area, and this should be sought by reference to the entries under that heading. Similarly with information given uniformly for boroughs in the Eastern Survey Area. Other information regarding particular boroughs may be found by reference to the borough concerned.

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